UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

AMERICAN ADAPTATIONS OF FRENCH PLAYS ON THE NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA STAGES FROM 1834 TO THE CIVIL WAR

RALPH HARTMAN WARE

A THESIS

IN ENGLISH

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
1930

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LEIDEN

If some small scribbler, in a future day,
Should try to weave my story in a play,
I'm curious now to know what he would do
For female interest to carry through
His plot, if any, for *my wife's* at home;
I couldn't ask her majesty to roam
Amongst my rude adventures—I guess
He'll find himself in a delightful mess.
He'll want a heroine, the rules despotic—
Hollo! that gin, by jingo, *is* narcotic. [*Yawns*]
Where can he find one? Out of some French play,
No doubt; that will be, then, the usual way.
French thought, French plot, French wit,
French moral, cast,
And published, probably, by French, at last.
I'm going—going—gone. [*Sleeps*]

From Brougham, *Columbus el Filibustero*! !
Act I, Scene 2.

PREFACE

This dissertation studies American adaptations of French plays on the New York and Philadelphia stages in the period from 1834 to the Civil War. The adaptations found in the earlier period from 1790 to 1833 have been treated by Professor H. W. Schoenberger. The material of the present study has been arranged chronologically with a separate chapter devoted to Dion Boucicault. While the study is primarily concerned with plays that have survived, it also notes the evidence proving that certain non-extant plays were adapted from French sources.

The limits of place and time have been kept with some exceptions. Two adaptations by Frederic S. Hill, *The Six Degrees of Crime* and *The Shoemaker of Toulouse*, presented first at Boston in 1834 and later in Philadelphia, have been included because they show the continuing influence of the *mélodrame*. Two adaptations of *La Fiammina* by Mario Uchard were made in 1857. The one by Matilda Heron, presented in New York, has not survived, and so the one by William Clapp, Jr., performed in Boston, has been compared with the French play. Dion Boucicault made many adaptations of French plays both in England and in the United States. This discussion of his work does not extend to his adaptations made and presented in England but confines itself to those adaptations from the French written and first produced in this country. The chronological limits of the study have been kept in the work of all the playwrights except Boucicault, whose American adaptations of French plays have been considered no matter when or where they were first performed.

In gathering materials for this study I have incurred many obligations. The library staffs of the universities of Pennsylvania, Princeton, Columbia, and Yale offered me every courtesy. Mrs. Lillian A. Hall of the Shaw Theatre Collection was of special assistance. Mr. E. F. Edgett, of Boston, kindly answered a number of inquiries. I am in the debt of Professor H. W. Schoenberger for aid and encouragement. To Professor A. H. Quinn, who first suggested this subject to me, I wish to express my deepest obligation for his helpful guidance.

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Introduction

In his work on American adaptations of French plays from 1790 to 1833, Professor Schoenberger found that fully one-half the plays which he discusses are melodramas.[1] The same proportion holds true in the period from 1834 to the Civil War, for in adaptations melodrama was the vogue. More and more the theatres were catering to the mass of the people. These patrons of the theatre were untrained in the tradition of tragedy and social comedy. It is true that the tradition of tragedy was kept alive by Forrest and foreign stars, and also that these actors drew large audiences to the performances of romantic plays. American comedy, too, begun in *The Contrast*, was continued in *Fashion*. The unlettered, however, flocked to the houses staging melodramas. The taste for this dramatic type was satisfied by native productions, by British importations, and, increasingly as the fifties drew to a close, by American adaptations of French melodramas.

In America there was a lack of romantic plays adapted from French sources between 1834 and the mid-century, by which time in France romantic plays were beginning to yield to realistic comedy. In *The Actress of Padua*, adapted by Smith, the work of Hugo was represented on the Philadelphia stage in 1836. *Lucretia Borgia*, adapted by Rees, was staged in New Orleans in the same year. Dumas, *père*, was represented by two plays, *Paul Jones*, adapted by Berger, and *La Tour de Nesle*, by an anonymous writer, both of which probably had their *première* in this country in New Orleans.[2] These four plays cannot be considered the flowering of romantic drama in France; indeed, they are only romantic melodramas, or melodramas written by men of literary power, whose reputation does not rest on such

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[1] Schoenberger, H. W., *American Adaptations of French Plays on the New York and Philadelphia Stages from 1790 to 1833*, p. 10.

[2] *La Tour de Nesle* was acted in New York as early as February 3, 1833 but this was not the first performance in this country. It was published anonymously, and the original was attributed to Hugo. Sol Smith's *Theatrical Management* claims an adaptation of this play for James Rees; but Rees's magazine, *Dramatic Mirror and Literary Companion*, attributes the adaptation to F. Haynes for the New Orleans stage.

work. There was, however, no lack of romantic plays on the American stage. Conrad, Bird, Stone, Smith, Boker, Willis and Mrs. Howe wrote numerous romantic tragedies and comedies. None, except Smith, made an adaptation from the French romanticists. Only Smith seems to have been influenced directly by the French school. There were, it is true, English adaptations of the French romanticists on the American stage as early as the season of 1831–1832 but these were not a direct connection. The plays of the "Philadelphia school" had been written before Smith adapted *Angelo.*

In France during the thirties melodrama became increasingly romantic in the selection of material. In America between 1834 and 1850 this influence was exhibited in such a minor figure as the playwright, Butler, whose *Gaspardo the Gondolier* was taken from a romantic melodrama . It was also a so-called period play and was the first of six such plays to be adapted before the Civil War. Whether the author copied the French original closely or followed the practice in native romance of making his play one of revolt will never be known unless this lost play is unearthed. The romantic influence on melodrama remained after the vogue for romance itself had passed in France in the early fifties, for romantic melodramas continued to be adapted in America. Although romantic drama reached its crest in this country with the production of *Francesca da Rimini* in 1855, the passing of romance here was indicated by the adaptation of realistic comedy and by satire directed against romance in the additions invented by the collaborators, Goodrich and Warden, who drew on *La Clef d'Or* in writing *Romance after Marriage.* American adapters reflect the trend of French drama rather than American drama.

Another proof that American adapters followed the trend of the French drama is to be found in the adaptation of realistic French comedy as early as 1853. In the early fifties in France, playwrights began to invent less and to observe more. This new trend is seen in the adaptation in America of *La Dame aux Camélias*, *Le Demi-Monde*, and *La Fiammina.* In adaptation the plays suffered considerable modification. *Camille* was first fitted to a bed of Procrustean morality, and American conventions were substituted for French ones. *Beatrice; or, The False*

and the True and *La Fiammina* were changed from comedies of manners to romantic melodramas. Either the adapters felt that the public was more interested in plot and incident than in characters and social problems or they feared for American prudishness. While the reasons for making both adaptations and changes may only be surmised, it is significant that attempts should have been made, even in Bowdlerized adaptations, to exhibit this new trend in French drama.

In the twenty-seven years preceding the Civil War, tragedy was represented by but one adaptation and farce by two. Comedy held the place next to melodrama in popularity. *Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle*, the best of the comedies of intrigue written in the period, received the compliment of being adapted twice to the American stage; but *Bertrand et Raton*, the play in which Scribe had invented his best, if not his only, character, and *Le Testament de César Girodot*, a clever social comedy, both went without presentation, although adapted and published. No attempt was made to give any of the comedies a local setting. Instead, where the scene was not left in France it was shifted to London. The example of the adapters probably led other playwrights, such as Hurlbert and Wallack, to use foreign settings for their comedies.

From 1790 to 1833 six playwrights adapted French plays that appeared on the American stage.[3] Between the latter date and the Civil War, triple that number of adapters had their work presented. Of the six in the earlier period, Dunlap, Payne, and Smith were the most prolific and the most prominent. It cannot be claimed that their example inspired others immediately to adapt plays for our stage. Only four adaptations of French plays were made for the New York and Philadelphia stages from 1834 to 1850, and not one has survived. Adaptation, however, did continue. Two plays, *The Six Degrees of Crime* and *The Shoemaker of Toulouse*, were adapted for the Boston stage in this period. In the absence of a commanding figure, the demand was probably met by importation of British pieces, many of them taken from French sources. More important, however, is the fact that such

[3] Schoenberger, p. 10.

leading American dramatists as Willis and Boker were doing original work or were depending on Spanish or Italian sources.

The greater number of adaptations in the fifties, particularly in 1857, is to be accounted for variously. Some French plays owed their adaptation to successful receptions in Paris; still others to success in London, for American adapters were willing to borrow either at first or second hand. At least five adaptations had been preceded on the American stage by the French original, played in the French language. Then, too, the visits of foreign stars, such as Rachel's in 1855, undoubtedly had a stimulating effect on the popularity of French pieces. Miss Heron had seen *La Dame aux Camélias* in Paris before she adapted the play. But of greater importance in explaining the adaptations in the late fifties was the presence of Dion Boucicault in this country. His successful American adaptations set an example that minor figures hastened to copy. The panic of 1857 doubtless favored the adapters. It was probably cheaper to secure an adaptation than a native play, and the nature of the reception of the original had already been indicated in Paris. That managers were inclined to risk little is proved by the fact that when the realistic comedies of Dumas, *fils*, and of Uchard were adapted in 1857, they were changed into melodramas.

With few exceptions the various American adapters of French plays had only a fair knowledge of the French language. In translating they were adequate but not distinguished. Although almost all preferred to trust their own sense of humor in comedy, and although an encouraging sign was the ruthless manner in which they cut or omitted long moralizing speeches, they usually followed the French plots fairly closely. Gayler and Hill showed improvements in their second adaptations. Fanny Kemble and Leland produced pieces with some claim to rank as literature.

In Boucicault, however, we have a figure who towers above all the other adapters of the period. He was a skilful adapter. His adaptations show neatness of workmanship, economy of material, and avoidance of tediousness. The tests of plot, character, and dialogue maybe applied to his work. His plots, of course, were borrowed; nevertheless, he showed sound judgment in choosing and skill in inventing where he pieced out the incidents of his

originals. His personages, too, were borrowed; but in Grimaldi and "The O'Dowd" he made of puppets real characters. It was in dialogue that Boucicault excelled. His dialogue, fresh and racy, was his own and not a following of the original French. He translated with the ease and freedom born of a four years' acquaintance with the language gained while living in Paris. Instead of giving a literal translation, he rendered the sense of a passage while at the same time fitting the language of his adaptation to the character. He was a master of dramatic construction and to this task brought the ingenuity of a playwright, the experience of an actor, and a knowledge of the public taste. He never permitted an actor to bore the public with flights of elocutionary skill, and invariably put his action on the stage. He knew well the art of gaining suspense, and frequently improved his originals. His experience as an actor was exhibited in the detailed stage directions and "stage business" which he added. *Led Astray* shows better than any other of his plays how he could adapt French conventions to the American taste. At first he exploited in his adaptations the charm of Agnes Robertson. Then for several years his melodramas, romantic in material and realistic in method, dominated the stage. He was, however, under no illusions as to their worth and referred to those like *The Poor of New York*, as "rough and tumble dramas." When popularity turned to the errant-husband theme, he abandoned melodramas for such pieces as *Vice Versa* and *Forbidden Fruit.* This study shows that next to skill in recognizing the best in others, he was capable of recognizing faults in his own work and of improving work that he had already done.

II

Plays Produced From 1834 to 1843

The Six Degrees of Crime; or, Wine, Women, Gambling, Theft, Murder, and the Scaffold, a melodrama in six parts, by Frederic S. Hill, an actor and playwright of Boston, was played at the Arch Street Theatre, March 1, 1834, with the author taking the leading rôle, that of Julio Dormilly. The play had been produced first at the Warren Theatre in Boston on the fifteenth of the preceding January. From Philadelphia, Hill moved to New York. There, after having been announced as in rehearsal at the Park, his play was staged at the Bowery Theatre, March 19.

Commenting on the piece, Durang notes it as a "romantic, although probable drama."[1] The phrase is a misnomer. The play is rather a melodramatic tract on the wages of sin, or a series of tableaux united by the presence of Julio in each. It has practically all the features of a melodrama: a lack of artistic finish and restraint of judgment, and a desire to arouse or to shock. There are present, moreover, three of the four personages whom Ginisty deemed essential for a *mélodrame*.[2] Julio is the character "animé de toutes les passions mauvais"; François is the "protecteur de l'innocence"; and Madame Doucet is "le comique ou le niais." As to the fourth, Louise before, but not after, her seduction could serve as the "femme malheureuse ornée de toutes les vertus." Music, another feature of melodrama, is used.

A contemporary reviewer, writing for the *Mirror* and quoted by Professor Odell, differs from the point of view just expressed:

> It will at once be perceived . . . that the play affords ample scope for scenic display and for every species of histrionic talent. The *salle a manger* of the young bacchanals, and the ball-room of the *maison de plaisance*, gave opportunity for fine lively comedy; the gaming-house and the robbery pre-

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[1] *The Philadelphia Stage*, Third Series, Chapter 31.
[2] *Le Mélodrame*, p. 14.

sented something excellent in the melo-dramatic way; while the assassination and closing scene were deeply tragic.[3]

The course of the plot is indicated by the full title. One crime leads Julio on to another. At each successive stage he is saved and warned by Michael, the Black Parson, until doomed to die on the scaffold, he finds that the friendly adviser is none other than the "Public Executioner." In contrast to the downfall of Julio is the rise, through the application of honest industry, of François to honorable marriage and affluence.

This play Hill translated from *Les Six Degrés du Crime* of Théodore Nezel and Benjamin Antier.[4] The French play has the following characters:

Jules Dormilly.
François.
Charles, Ferdinand } amis de Jules.
Michael, surnommé l'Homme Noir.
Lacaille, Robert } voleurs.
Madame Doucet, marchande d'oranges.
Louise, sa fille.
Elomire, Fanny, Caroline } personnes invitées au bal.
Monsieur de la chambre.
Un Commissaire de Police.
Berthier, Joseph } domestiques.
Peuple, Gardes et Domestiques.

Hill uses the same title and translates with almost the same exactness the body of the play. The characters retain the same names as in the French, the only change being to particularize several unimportant characters by giving them names. Inci-

[3] *Annals of the New York Stage*, Vol. III, p. 683.
[4] *Les Six Degrés du Crime*, mélodrame en trois actes, par MM. Théodore Nezel et Benjamin Antier; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, le 30 novembre 1831. Paris, 1832.

dentally, he departs from the original to place in the cast a stage property, a corpse. Other changes in this translation are scarcely more important. He omits the attempt of Julio on the life of Madame Doucet which in the French must come as an anti-climax to the murder of Louise; but he adds the assassination of Ferdinand, the informer, at the end of the fourth act. The didactic speeches of Michael are cut to endurable limits; and omission is made of some of the humor in the *maison de plaisance*. Hill's chief additions consist in the invention of some slap-stick comedy in the abduction scene and some malicious gossip by the women in the scene immediately following. His knowledge of French was only fair and when he came to render the language of Madame Doucet, which in the original is suitable to her life as an orange vender, he failed and produced a translation that is sometimes stilted and seldom in character.

Although Hill's next adaptation was made and played in Boston in the same year as *The Six Degrees of Crime*, it was not until August 14, 1841 that *The Shoemaker of Toulouse; or, The Avenger of Humble Life* was presented at the Arch Street Theatre. The author was not in the cast, and the chief rôle was taken by J. R. Scott. The delay in its appearance may possibly be explained by the more popular reception accorded *The Six Degrees of Crime*, for the records of Durang and Brown show that the latter was often in demand. The source of the second adaptation is *Le Savetier de Toulouse* by Pierre Camus and Francis Cornu.[5]

It has the following characters:

Toussaint-Odet, savetier.
Pajot, mercier.
Honoré, son fils, soldat au régiment de Languedoc.
Alexis Laroche, jeune médecin.
Le Duc de Fronsac.
Un Capitoul.
Madinier, précepteur du duc.

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[5] *Le Savetier de Toulouse*, drame en quatre actes par MM. Merville [Pierre Camus] et Francis [Cornu]; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, le 20 octobre 1832. Paris, 1832.

Maixent, valet de chambre.
Chignard, portier du Capitoul.
Adelaide, fille de Pajot.
Marguerite.
Un Valet du duc de Fronsac.
La scène est à Toulouse, sous le regne de Louis XV.

The theme of the adapted play, as Jacob Odet, the Toussaint-Odet of the original, expresses it, is "the rights of the poor protected against the unhallowed invasions of the rich." In the preservation of these rights Jacob has alarmed all Toulouse by a series of murders. As the play opens, suspicion is directed against Henry Pagot, a soldier on leave. Henry darkens the case against himself when he challenges the Duke de Fronsac, who, in the guise of his own secretary, has attempted the honor of Henry's sister, Adelaide. To fight against Henry, the duke sends his valet, Fleuret, an accomplished swordsman. Henry believes himself the victor when Fleuret falls; but, in fact, Fleuret has been struck down by Jacob. This attempt at seduction having failed, Madinier, the tutor of the Duke, sets fire to Adelaide's home; but neighbors prevent the abduction. When Henry is brought to trial for dueling, it is shown that his antagonist has been killed by a wound like those of the mysterious victims. Jacob now comes forward in court, acknowledges himself the murderer, makes Madinier his last victim, and takes his own life.

Hill had profited by previous experience. While the translation follows rather regularly the speeches in the order of the original, the language is made more idiomatic, vigorous, and dramatic. He had, it is true, better material to work with. The changes he makes are unimportant. The two characters which he apparently adds are only those unnamed in the *dramatis personæ* but named in the text. He eliminates two scenes. Hill alters the ending by having Jacob stab himself; in the original he simply surrenders. That this change is only one of several to make the play more melodramatic, the added stage directions prove. The adapter adds music, "neat and lively; ten bars"; and he closes the third act, the house ablaze, with the

directions, "roar of flames; ringing of bells; gong; red fire and grand tableau." Although he was not an expert translator, he evidently knew from his stage experience what would please the patrons of the Arch Street Theatre.

The foregoing two plays reached the stage. According to a "Memoir of Frederic S. Hill" written by "O" as a preface to *The Six Degrees of Crime*, Hill wrote the *Chevalier de Faublas*, which was never acted. Since he translated exactly the titles of the plays here discussed, it is reasonable to suppose the original is *Le Chevalier de Faublas* by Villemain d'Abancourt, a play described in Brunet's bibliography as a comedy in one act in verse.

In New York on the night of September 5, 1835, the part of Mawworm was played at the Park Theatre by Sol Smith and at the Bowery Theatre by H. J. Finn.[6] The play was evidently the one now printed as *The Hypocrite* and assigned to Sol Smith. The title page of this piece reads: "The Hypocrite. Altered by Isaac Beckerstaff from Colley Cibber's translation of *Tartuffe* by Molière. Compressed into three acts by Sol Smith, Comedian." Were this play drawn from Molière, it would constitute the only drama from the French playwright adapted to the American stage in the period covered by this thesis; but there is nothing of Molière in *The Hypocrite* except as put there by Bickerstaff and Cibber. Sol Smith wrote this play with scissors and glue pot, working on Bickerstaff's play. There are a few additions, mostly in the stage directions, and several substitutions in the dialogue. For the rest, the alterations are simply omissions. The compression into three acts is achieved by dropping all but a short scene from the third act and by making the fourth act of Bickerstaff's play a scene in the second act. Thus, this play, which from its title page one might be lead to believe from the French, turns out to be Bickerstaff's play judiciously cut and, as such, three removes from Molière.

After reading Victor Hugo's *Angelo*,[7] Richard Penn Smith put the drama "into the form of a tale."[8] The play which he subse-

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[6] Odell, Vol. IV, p. 52.

[7] "Angelo" in *Oeuvres par Victor Hugo*; représenté, pour la première fois, Paris à la Théâtre-Français, le 28 avril 1835. Francfort-sur-le Mein, s. d.

[8] *The Actress of Padua and Other Tales*. Philadelphia, 1836.

quently wrote on this theme has not survived but the claim of his authorship exists in his own handwriting on a play bill.[9] The reason for the change from tale to drama is not clear, unless he sensed the importance of what he termed "the high pressure romantic school."

The plot of the French play is one of romantic love and of easily moved jealousy. Angelo is jealous of La Tisbe, his mistress, whom he loves; but La Tisbe loves Rodolfo, who, in turn, is faithless because he loves Angelo's wife, Catarina. A rejected suitor of Catarina, Homodei, precipitates the action by introducing Rodolfo into the chamber of Catarina, and then allowing La Tisbe to enter. In the end, Homodei is disposed of by a poniard; Catarina awakes from a sleeping potion to a life with Rodolfo, a life made possible by the sacrifice to love which La Tisbe offers by drinking poison. Since the play has not come down to us, it is idle to speculate what form the adaptation took; however, in his narrative, Smith had Tisbe killed by Rodolpho. He did well to change the title, for La Tisbe dominates the action.

It is true that Hugo led the fight for the romanticists in France, but his play can be called only a melodrama written by a romantic poet. Stripped of the glamour of poetry, *Angelo* is lurid, though powerful. As Royer phrased it, there is "trop de mystères, de clefs, de narcotiques, de chemins dans les murs; en un mot trop de *ficelles* . . ."[10] The chief merit of the play lies in the contrast of the chaste patrician lady with the actress and in the powerful emotions represented.

In America the play proved to be popular, and there were other versions. Durang notes a performance on April 29, 1852: "Miss Cushman appeared in the 'Actress of Padua' as *La Tisbe*. In this she was spirited and clever, but she had not the soft impressiveness of Miss J. M. Davenport. The judicious alterations of Miss D's piece were in better taste than the usual stage copies of this play."[11]

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[9] Playbill. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
[10] *Histoire Universelle du Théâtre*, Vol. V, p. 101.
[11] *The Philadelphia Stage*, Third Series, Chapter 114.

It was evidently some performance by Miss Cushman that the late Brander Matthews had in mind when he wrote that "an adaptation by John Brougham was played by Charlotte Cushman." The claim for this version is also made on the occasion of the playwright's death.[12] The evidence for Brougham's adaptation of the play is contained in his diary where the following entry is made under date of August 9, 1854: "Began version of 'Actress of Padua' for Matilda Heron."[13] As this entry is made two years after Charlotte Cushman's performance at the Walnut Stree Theatre—which was not her first—and as the specific statement concerns Matilda Heron, it is obvious, unless the entry is to be impeached, that Brougham did not write for Miss Cushman. It is possible to infer from the fact that Brougham wrote *Actress of Padua* and not the French title, *Angelo*, that he had in mind an alteration of an existing adaptation, an inference that is borne out by his alteration of his own play, *Flies in the Web*, which he changed to *The Game of Love*.

The Actress of Padua was not the only play of Hugo's presented on the Philadelphia stage. *Marie Tudor* was acted at the Walnut Street Theatre on June 22, 1842. Under this date Durang writes: "A new historical drama in four parts, translated and adapted from the French of Victor Hugo, by a gentleman of this city, expressly for Mr. E. A. Marshall, called *Mary Tudor; or, Gilbert, the Mechanic*." "A gentleman of this city" is an elusive phrase when applied to the adaptation of plays, and it is not impossible that this play bears a close relation to an anonymous *Mary Tudor* translated in England as early as 1833.

One other play of Hugo's concerns us, *Le Roi S'Amuse*, on the stage in Paris November 22, 1832, and published in the same year. Professor Odell, writing of the likeness of Bird's *The Broker of Bogota* to Elizabethan models, adds: "The Leonor incidents also hint of *Le Roi S'Amuse*."[14] As Bird's play was put on at the Bowery, February 12, 1834, he may have read Hugo's. I cannot believe, however, that he used anything from the

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[12] New York *Tribune*, June 8, 1880.
[13] *Life, Stories, and Poems*, p. 84.
[14] *Annals of the New York Stage*, Vol. III, p. 681.

French play. In Bird's play Leonor is loved by Fernando, who keeps his identity secret until he has made her his wife at the risk of his father's displeasure. In Hugo's play the king, already married, conceals his identity when, bent on seduction, he visits Blanche secretly. If Bird did not invent the Leonor incidents, he used what had been a situation common in play and novel. Hugo may have prompted him, but the general unlikeness of the two incidents leads me to believe that he did not. Hugo's play, however, was acted, according to a playbill for the Arch Street Theatre, April 24, 1852, under the title *The Court Fool! or, Le Roi S'Amuse.* No author is named. It is probable that this is W. E. Burton's *The Court Fool; or, A King's Amusement* played at Sadler's Wells Theatre, London, May 11, 1840.

In *The Actress of Padua and Other Tales* there is preserved Richard Penn Smith's only attempt at domestic drama. The play, entitled *The Daughter,* was probably never acted. The characters in the piece are as follows:

> Count Rosenberg—Husband of Euphemia.
> Valmore—French Ambassador.
> Montalban—supposed father of Clara.
> Peter—Marcelle's son.
> Euphemia—sister of the Grand Duke of Lithuania.
> Clara—under the name of Olympia.
> Marcelle—a Cottager.
> Peasants, Servants, Guards.

Clara is a long suffering Griselda, who endures being driven to the verge of madness rather than betray her father. She has been falsely accused of the murder of the child of Valmore, whom she loves. She knows that her father, Montalban, has committed the crime; but filial devotion keeps her silent under persecution. When she learns through Marcelle that the murderer is not her real father, she betrays him and insures the customary justice and happiness with which such pieces end.

In his preface to the play, Smith explains its supposed source: "The drama, entitled *The Daughter,* . . . it is scarcely necessary to suggest to the intelligent reader, is founded upon a portion of Madame De Genlis' *Siege of Rochelle,* a novel highly popular a

few years since." Smith, however, did not make his adaptation from the novel but used as his source *Clara, ou le Malheur et la Conscience*, a play by Laroche[15] staged in 1808, the same year in which Madame de Genlis published her novel. *The Daughter* is practically a literal translation and follows the original quite closely. As a result, the style is stilted and many of the speeches, especially the repentant ones of Montalban, reek with sentimentality. The only changes are the shortening of some of the longer speeches and the addition of comic elements presented in a colloquial vein and placed in the mouth of Peter, the Pitmann of the original and the only character who is renamed in the adaptation. Conclusive proof that he used the play and not the novel is had in the literal translation of the same "stage business" and most of the stage directions which Laroche had composed.

In the year before Smith published his play, there was acted at Drury Lane, October 29, E. Fitzball's "*The Siege of Rochelle*, an original opera in two acts." The situation is practically the same as in *The Daughter* except that Clara is bound by an oath and not by filial affection and that the revelation does not come through Marcelle. The language does not follow Laroche's play and is cast in both prose and verse. The English version adds four characters not found in the French play, and unless these are of Fitzball's invention, the opera derives from the novel rather than the play. Brunet catalogues the French play as a *mélodrame*. *The Siege of Rochelle* is melodrama touched with such mild romantic elements as a scene near a graveyard and fervent apostrophes to the beauties of nature. Smith improved on Laroche's effort and wrote a better play than did Fitzball.

Among the manuscript plays of Richard Penn Smith preserved by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is an undated one entitled *The Last Man; or, The Cock of the Village*. It is probable that the play was never acted and that it represents early work. It is adapted from *Le Coq de village*.[16]

[15] *Clara, ou le Malheur et la Conscience*, mélodrame en trois actes, par M. Hubert [Laroche]; représenté, pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, le 15 juin 1808. Paris, nouvelle édition, 1813.

[16] *Le Coq de village*, tableau-vaudeville en un acte, de Favart, remis au Théâtre avec des changemens, par MM. Décour, Charles Herbert, et Théodore Anne; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Vaudeville, le 12 juin 1822. Paris, 1822.

The characters of the French piece are as follows:

M. Renard, Bailli.
Pierrot, son filleul.
Thérèse, amante de Pierrot.
Mad. Froment } ses tantes.
Mad. Rapé }
Gogo, petite villageoise espiègle, fille de Madame Froment.
Un Soldat.
Villageoises et Soldats.
La scène se passe dans un petit village de France.

In *The Last Man*, Duval (Renard of the original play) is the father of Peter, the only man in the village eligible for marriage and as such pursued by all the widows and girls. Especially eager are Mesdames Froment and Rapé, but Peter loves their niece, Thérèse, whom her aunts have deprived of her property. Duval arranges for a lottery with Peter as the prize and the two widows as the chief contributors. By a trick Thérèse wins. When the trick is exposed, Duval reveals his purpose as not only the awarding of Peter to Thérèse but also the righting of the wrong done to her by her aunts.

Smith's play is a fairly literal translation with some few changes. As a translator he shows some skill in rendering the sense of the original songs into prose. The changes are few. In the list of characters the soldiers are dropped and Mathurine and Coletta are added. The omission of the soldiers is made necessary by the alteration which Smith makes in the ending of the play. In the original the disappointment of the women and girls at not winning Pierrot is dimmed by the arrival of the soldiers. The adaptation has nothing of this and ends with the moral turn given in the summary of the plot. The alteration adds nothing to the amusing qualities of this farce.

Gaspardo the Gondolier by John Butler has not survived. It was played at the Chestnut Street Theatre, March 23, 1839, and received with warm approbation. A playbill[17] for November 22, 1852, at the Arch Street Theatre, supplies the subtitle, *The*

[17] Shaw Theatre Collection.

Three Banished Men of Milan. The titles furnish the clue to its derivation from *Gaspardo le Pêcheur* by Bouchardy.[18] The original play was also well received in France and in two years was played over two hundred times.

The characters of the French play are these:

PROLOGUE

Gaspardo	Riccardo
Raphael	Le Pasteur Sanulto
Pietro	Catarina
Jacoppo Sforce	Un Enfant
Visconti	Un Estafier

DRAME

Marie Visconti	Brabantio
Le Procurateur Contarini	Michielli
Gaspardo le Gondolier	Le Sénateur Trepolo
Raphael le Franciscain	Un Capitaine Fabricio
Le Brigadier Pietro	Un Soldat
Le Connétable Sforce	Un Héraut
Le Commandant Francesco	Blanche de Visconti

Le Justicier Riccardo

Gardes, nobles, sénateurs, familiers, gens du peuple

The French play is a melodrama of vengeance, with the vengeance not taken. In the prologue Catarina, wife of Gaspardo, dares to defend herself against Visconti's attempt on her honor by taking her own life. Gaspardo surrenders his motherless infant to the leader of the revolting *condottieri*, Jacoppo Sforce. Together with Raphael and Pietro, whose families have suffered indignities from Visconti, he attempts to assassinate their despoiler. They are unsuccessful and are banished. Twenty-five years later Visconti has become ruler of Milan; Gaspardo has become chief gondolier of the city; Raphael has returned as a Franciscan monk; and Pietro is in the army of the aging Sforce. All three are keeping a watchful eye on the son of Gaspardo, now known as Francesco Sforce, commandant of the Milanese armies. While Francesco is in the chamber of

[18] *Gaspardo le Pêcheur*, drame en quatre actes, précédé d'un prologue, par M. J. Bouchardy; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, le 14 janvier 1837. Paris, 1837.

Blanche, Visconti's daughter, her husband, Contarini, enters. His attempt to assassinate Francesco is frustrated by Gaspardo, who kills the husband. At the trial of Francesco for the murder, Gaspardo takes the responsibility but secures a stay of execution by implicating Blanche. This period affords an opportunity for a revolution. Plot is foiled by counter plot; but in the end Jacoppo Sforce is killed; Visconti is cast from power and allowed to live because his daughter loves him; and, dying in his son's arms, Gaspardo secures the senators' consent to the election of Francesco as duke of Milan. The last lines of the play are somewhat ridiculous. With his father dead from torture and with his mother's murderer, Visconti, merely dethroned, Gaspardo asks, "Et que me reste-t-il donc, à moi?" To which Raphael, one of the three banished men, replies, "Blanche est veuve, et le peuple vous aime."

It would be interesting to know what changes, if any, Butler made in his original, particularly, in the revolt of the people against Visconti. In the original there is no stress laid on the democratic tendency of such a revolt. For a decade before Butler's play American playwrights, as Stone in *Metamora*, Brown in *Sertorius*, Bird in *The Gladiator* and in *The Broker of Bogota*, and Smith in *Caius Marius*, had been writing original romantic plays and constructing them around the idea of revolt against oppression.[19] Whether Butler followed the example of his countrymen or whether he copied the French original is a matter of conjecture, for his play has not come down to us.

The only information I have been able to secure about his play from newspaper files is the cast:

Gaspardo	Mr. Harrington
Jacoppo Sforza	Mr. Wood
Com'dt Sforza	Mr. Murdock
Contarini	Mr. Walton
Raphael	Mr. Thayer
Catharine	Mrs. Sharpe
Blanche	Miss Fisher[20]

[19] Quinn, pp. 267–268.
[20] *Public Ledger*, March 23, 1839.

It will be seen that, so far as known, the characters are the same as in the original.

The merit of Bouchardy's play is not high. The action is crowded; the speeches are lengthy and bombastic; and the ending, while perhaps satisfactory for a *mélodrame*, is hardly fitting for a *drame*. Criticizing *Gaspardo* and *Le Sonneur de Saint-Paul*, Gautier has written: "Les pièces de M. Bouchardy sont très-surchargées, très-bourrées d'événements; à chaque scène, il y a une surprise nouvelle.—Chacun de ses actes fournirait l'étoffe d'un mélodrame en cinq actes pour le moins . . ."[21]

In the year before Butler presented his play at the Chestnut Street Theatre, George Almar[22] had translated the play and the translation was acted at the Royal Surrey Theatre, July 2, 1838. Some slight alterations are made, but the English play follows closely the French. Two years before the presentation of Butler's play, on August 25, 1837, at the Park Theatre, New York, N. P. Willis had used the Duke Visconti, his daughter, Blanche, and Francesco Sforza in a play called *Bianca Visconti*. The only other resemblance to *Gaspardo*—and this he probably drew from history—is the capture of the city. The plot of Willis is entirely different.

The School for Politicians; or, Non-Committal, a comedy in five acts, by an anonymous translator, was entered in 1840 for copyright in the southern district of New York. This is one fact that has led me to believe the anonymous writer an American. Another is the suggestion made in the preface that "should the play be acted, it is to Placide that the character of Rantzau belongs." Moreover, Clarence[23] does not list any English play of this title.

This play, which probably was not acted, is drawn from *Bertrand et Raton* by Scribe.[24] In this five-act *drame* Scribe had struck the note of high comedy for perhaps the first time in his

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[21] *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, Vol. I, p. 324.

[22] Almar, George, *Gaspardo the Gondolier; or, The Three Banished Men of Milan*, London, n. d.

[23] "*The Stage*" *Cyclopedia*.

[24] *Bertrand et Raton*, drame en cinq actes, en prose par M. Eugène Scribe; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre-Français, le 14 novembre 1833. New York, nouvelle édition, 1884.

career. The piece is more than a well-made play: it exhibits the complexity of real life and creates at least one character in Count Bertrand de Rantzau whom critics agree in naming as Scribe's most remarkable character. Rantzau is a suave and crafty diplomat, who by his "non-committal" tactics converts the enthusiasm of others to his own account. As a foil to the sophisticated diplomat there is the heavy minded Burckenstaff, a pliable tool. It is in the delineation of these characters that the chief excellence of the play consists.

The characters in the American play are:

Rantzau, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
Falkenshield, Minister of War.
De Goehler, Nephew of the Minister of the Navy
Koller, a Colonel in the Army, and Captain of the Guards
Reinhart Burckenstaff, a Merchant of Copenhagen
Eric Burckenstaff, his Son
Jan Furst, his Apprentice
Berghem, a Courtier
Joseph, a Servant
Maria Julia, the Queen-Mother
Christina, daughter of Falkenshield
Martha, wife of Burckenstaff
President and Magistrates of Supreme Criminal Court, People, Servants
Scene in Copenhagen

The plot, to quote from the preface, "is bustling and full of incidents, but not very probable, nor indeed very consistent." At the court of Denmark, the Queen and Prime Minister Struensee have gained control over the weak King and have usurped the power formerly exercised by Maria Julia, the queen-mother. In the latter's party are Koller, a dissatisfied army officer, and Rantzau. Unwittingly, Eric Burckenstaff becomes one of this party when Rantzau secures him a commission which he desires because it will enable him to demand satisfaction from De Goehler, his rival for the hand of Christina. Burckenstaff, Eric's father, a chief merchant of the city, is threatened with arrest by Struensee and, by subtle plotting of Rantzau, is made

the leader of the protesting populace. In the confusion of the ensuing riots, Eric saves Christina's life; and Rantzau locks Burckenstaff in the merchant's wine cellar to make the people believe that he has been held by the police for rioting. Frightened by the turn events have taken, Koller, now in charge of the palace guard, betrays the conspiracy and arrests Eric in Christina's chambers where he has gone to seek a duel with his rival. Rather than betray the girl, Eric acquiesces in the charge of conspiracy and is condemned to die. Rantzau now takes advantage of the situation. He resigns from the ministry, forces Koller through self-interest to arrest Struensee, and backs up this act by having the people demand the release of Eric. The play closes with Rantzau installed as prime minister and successful in securing the consent of Christina's father to her union with Eric.

The anonymous author has stated frankly his course in making the adaptation. The play, he writes, "is not exactly a translation—the characters, and substantially, the plot, are the same—but in a slight degree, the catastrophe and many of the subordinate incidents are altered, and the dialogue throughout, by additions, omissions and substitutions, is essentially changed." The chief change is in assuring happiness to the lovers, a happiness that is left in doubt in the original as it would be in life off the stage.

The play was evidently not accepted by any theatre; and the author had doubts as to its success on the American stage, because he felt the public had not a taste for humor unless it was broad and palpable. While this argument is cogent, there are others that help explain why the piece was not staged. To a people accustomed to seeing three pieces in one evening, *The School for Politicians*, with its five acts of one hundred and seventy-nine pages would have been too long. The play, moreover, was adapted in 1840, and the audience, which had already witnessed the democratization of the government under Jackson, would scarcely have been in the mood to view sympathetically the thwarting of the popular will and the sophisticated plottings for the power of an insane king. That the author secretly hoped for a stage presentation is evidenced by his bid for popular

support in bestowing happiness upon the lovers, though he defended this alteration as being a concession to the novel reading public.

Scribe was a master of comedy exhibited in the well-made play; but he never approached the quality of comedy written by Alexander Dumas, *père*,[25] in *Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle*.[26]. When first published, it was denominated a *drame;* but Lenient comments: "La pièce . . ., malgré le ton mélodramatique qui domine au cinquième acte est le chefd'œuvre de la comédie d'intrigues," and finds also that it "va nous offrir un premier alliage du drame historique, de la comédie d'intrigue et de la comédie larmoyante, réunis de la même cadre."[27] Practically all the critics agree that the play is the most attractive comedy Dumas ever invented.

Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle was first adapted to the American stage by J. M. Field and presented at the Walnut Street Theatre, September 16, 1843, under the title of *Gabrielle; or, A Night's Hazards*. Durang agrees with Lenient in his judgment of the mixed quality of the play:

> This drama was a French piece, full of the effective claptraps of the stage, natural and unnatural. In such dramas felicity of language in phrases, playfulness in application to passing events and repartee, cause piquant and telling points to be made. The piece was quite a success, abounding in vivid and racy characters, blended with the heroic of French sentiment. The principal feature in the play was Miss C. Cushman as *Gabrielle*, who drew forth the most enthusiastic applause of the audience.[28]

Field's play has not survived but it was, I believe, an adaptation from Dumas. The title is significant, for Gabrielle has the leading rôle among the characters of Dumas' play and the plot

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[25] Davidson notes (p. 388) that the play was written "in collaboration (according to Querard) with Count Walewski; based . . . on an unaccepted piece by Brunswick."

[26] *Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle*, comédie en cinq actes, par Alexandre Dumas, *père*; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre-Français, le 2 avril 1839. Paris, s. d.

[27] *La Comédie en France*, Vol. II, pp. 194, 188.

[28] *The Philadelphia Stage*, Third Series, Chapter 72.

turns upon the hazards of a night when the Duke de Richelieu attempts to seduce her. More conclusive proof is offered by the cast of characters. Mr. Field played the part of the Chevalier d'Aubigny, and Miss C. Cushman that of Gabrielle.[29] In the French play, the Chevalier d'Aubigny is Gabrielle's fiancé whom the Duc de Richelieu affronts by his attempted seduction. The title and characters prove the source of Field's adaptation.

Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle was adapted also in 1850 by Frances Anne Kemble and in 1851 by A. R. Slous, and by both under the title of *The Duke's Wager*. Since Fanny Kemble's play was first produced at the Astor Place Opera House, New York, while Slous' was produced at the Princess's Theatre, London, and since Fanny Kemble belongs partly to American dramatic history, we may consider her play in place of the non-extant adaptation of Field.

The cast for her play is as follows:

The Duke de Richelieu.....Mr. Neafie
The Duke d'Aumont.....Mr. McDouall
The Chevalier d'Auvray.....Mr. Grosvenor
[The Chevalier d'Aubigny.....Mr. Addams?][30]
Count Charvillac [Chamillac?].....Mr. Stafford
The Abbé de Rosanne.....Mr. Lynne
The Marchioness de Prie [Marchioness de Valcour].....Miss E. M. Duret
Gabrielle de Belle Isle.....Miss Julia Dean
Marietta.....Miss Flynn

Gentlemen, and Ladies of the Court, Footmen, Pages, Etc.

The scene is in the Palace of the Duke de Bourbon, at Chantilly, near Paris.[31]

In a neighboring column of the newspaper which announced the play, it is interesting to note that "Mrs. Frances Anne Kemble will read at Brooklyn, on Monday evening the 29th instant, the play of *Julius Caesar* . . . at 7½ o'clock." The time and place forbade Fanny Kemble's witnessing the first performance of her own play.

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[29] *Public Ledger*, September 16, 1843.

[30] The Chevalier d'Aubigny is not listed, but in the review of the play an Addams is mentioned as having performed with ability.

[31] New York *Herald*, April 29, 1850.

The plot of the printed adaptation turns on two motives. The first is the wager of the Duke de Richelieu. "I bet . . . that I will obtain a private interview of the very first maid, wife, or widow that we see, either here or as we leave the palace, and that within the next four-and-twenty hours." The second motive is the attempt of Gabrielle to rescue, with the aid of the Marchioness de Valcour, her father and brother from the Bastille. Gabrielle becomes the object of Richelieu's pursuit but her honor is saved and the Duke outwitted when the Marchioness de Valcour takes her place in the darkened chamber.

Either the list of characters in the newspaper announcement is in error[32] or else Miss Kemble changed her adaptation when she printed her play in London, 1863. The announcement gives the character, the Marchioness de Prie, as in Dumas, but the printed play of Miss Kemble gives in her place the name of the Marchioness de Valcour. This substitution involves the major alteration which is made in the printed adaptation; namely, that the character in the adaptation is the wife, but in the original the mistress, of Richelieu. The only other change in the characters of the printed play is the addition of the Abbé de Rosanne, a character the adapter found necessary as a confidant to the Marchioness de Valcour in explaining her rôle as wife instead of mistress. As the character of the Abbé appears in both lists, it is probable that Miss Kemble corrected the mistake in the announcement or renamed Mme de Prie; but in either event the change from mistress to wife was probably an integral part of the play from its first performance.

In the preface to her play Miss Kemble states that she made her alteration "upon the score of the immorality" of Dumas' original. She makes no apology at thus catering to prudishness, but she does express the fear that she has "only destroyed a very clever picture of the manners and morals of the day, without having been able to make the piece unobjectionable for the English stage." That plays adapted from the French met with objections on the score of morals and that managers had to be careful of what they offered are proved by the presentation of a

[32] Cf. footnote to list.

play entitled *The Manager in Distress* presented at the Walnut in 1842. Actors placed in the boxes complained that the comedies were "garbled versions of various countries vulgarized by stray sayings and pilfered flash catch-words, not inserted with good taste," and an actress in the audience objected "to the moral of the plots and the pointed double entendre, the smart innuendos."[33]

Although these objections were made in the theatre a year before Field acted his version of *Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle*, and although the play may have been the English Colman's, they constitute evidence of a feeling in America against the immorality of French plot and dialogue that the adapter had to take into account.

Miss Kemble deserves praise for the literary quality of her translation. The language is free and idiomatic, and she writes so well in the dialogue she was forced in her adaptation to invent that the additions have the quality of the original.

In May of 1843 a company of French comedians and vocalists from New Orleans played at Niblo's Theatre, alternating with an English company.[34] Durang notes that when the same company came to the Chestnut Street Theatre for a month in the fall, L'*aveugle et son bâton*,[35] was staged September 25, 1843, a night when opera was not given. The presentation of this *vaudeville* in French probably led to its adaptation by an anonymous author and to its being acted at the Olympic Theatre, New York, December 4, 1843, under the title *Blind Man's Bluff*.

The characters are as follows:

Gédéon, jeune sculpteur
Ducroc, pretendu d' Eudoxie
Jollivet, médecin
Mlle Pélagie de la Roquette, vieille demoiselle
Eudoxie, sa niece
La scène est chez Pélagie, à Paris

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[33] Durang, Third Series, Chapter 65.
[34] Brown, Vol. I, p. 179.
[35] *L'aveugle et son bâton*, vaudeville en un acte par MM. Varin et Laurencin; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Vaudeville, le 11 novembre 1841. Paris, s. d.

The characters were renamed. Gédéon became Angelo Canova (Mr. Walcot); Ducroc became Dunderhead (Mr. Nickinson); Mlle Pélagie became Seraphima (Mrs. Watts); and Eudoxie was renamed Rosabella (Miss Taylor). The American cast is given by Ireland.[36] The play is concerned with the successful attempt of Gédéon to woo Eudoxie. In order to escape the watchfulness of her aunt and fiancé, he pretends to be blind. The comedy is literally of the slap-stick variety, for Gédéon uses his *bâton* effectively. Mr. Walcot must have found the play suited to his talents. The adaptation no longer exists.

In the years between the fall of 1843 and that of 1850, I find no plays adapted from the French by American authors on either the New York or Philadelphia stages. Adaptation had not ceased but the playwrights now turned to French novels as a source for plays. On November 13, 1843, *The Mysteries of Paris* was played at the Olympic Theatre, Philadelphia. On January 1, 1849, *The Ragpicker of Paris* was given at the Arch Street Theatre. And on the 24th of the same month *Monte Cristo* was the attraction at the Walnut.

There is nothing in the records to indicate that playwrights ever drew their material from a play as did the three who put together *The Mysteries of Paris* for the Olympic and produced it November 13, 1843. The following description of its construction is not without interest in itself:

> The French novel of "The Mysteries of Paris" had just come out, and was in every reader's hand from youth to age. All were struck with the vivid painted language of the horrible thrilling scenes of Parisian society among princes and *canaille*. As usual, the managers were not unmindful of the excitement thus produced in the reading world. Wemyss dramatized "The Mysteries of Paris" to the stage in the form of a melodrama of the romantic kind, where thunder roared, lightning flashed, and mock human blood flowed in the kennels. By a curious device, the moon's rays were made at night to reflect the blood of humanity mantling the waters of the Seine. This was a touch of the horrible with which to eke out a drama. It was not efficiently executed; but the multitude gaped at it with wonder. In order that Wemyss & Co. might not be forestalled by the other theatres in the dramatization of

[36] *Records of the New York Stage*, Vol. II, p. 421.

the new novel, three persons were secretly employed to do it into a drama in twenty-four hours, and it was then produced by sleight of hand in three days. Actors studied in their parts; scenery painted and ready for representation. It proved successful. Wemyss dramatized the first part, or act; James Gann the second part, and John Sefton the third part. The novel was bought, taken apart, and like parts of music given out to a band of musicians; each actor received his respective portion of the book, and in twenty-four hours brought the MSS. to the prompter for the first rehearsal, sitting up all night to effect the purpose. This celerity astonished all; but, bless us and save us, neither of the other theatres harbored any design of dramatizing the novel.[37]

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[37] Durang, Third Series, Chapter 70.

III

Plays Produced From 1850 to the Civil War

The period from 1834 to 1843 shows seven plays adapted from the French; from the last date to the mid-century I have found none. The next ten years were productive of no fewer than sixteen plays, and if those of Boucicault are counted, the number mounts to twenty-five. Of this number nine were produced in 1857.

The first play to be adapted in 1850 for the New York stage was presented at the National Theatre on September 2, and came from the French at second hand. It was played under various titles: the first was *Fortune's Whims; or, Barney the Baron;* two years later, it was *The Haunted Chamber; or, the Tinker of Clanduffy;* and by 1856, it had received its present title, *Barney the Baron.* Its immediate source is an English play, *The Barber Baron; or, The Frankfort Lottery* by T. J. Thackeray. Thackeray, in turn, had adapted *La Barbier Chatelin, ou, la Loterie de Frankfort* by Théaulon and Th. Anne. In the words of Thackeray in his preface, the French play "was taken from a German Bluette, founded on one of the most popular of their Serio-comic Spectre Tales—we believe by Tieck." This is a long ancestry for such an insignificant production as *Barney the Baron.*

The American play is anonymous. As the rôle of Barney was first played by Barney Williams, the popular actor of Irish parts, the play may have been his. More probably, it is the work of Samuel D. Johnson who produced for Williams plays of a farcical nature like *Our Gal.*[1]

Whoever the author may have been, there is no evidence that he had any other than Thackeray's copy before him as he worked. When the author varies from the language of Thackeray, he

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[1] Of Johnson's *Our Gal,* Adams (p. 292) notes that "the character and idea for plot (girl appearing as a fool) may be taken from the character of Angelique in the *Fausse Agnes* of Destouches." This conjecture may be correct. I believe, however, that the character of Caroline, known also as Mehetable, in *Our Gal* is derived from the plays of Yankee comedy and not from the French.

invents dialogue and situations. Thackeray adds slightly to the plot, and these additions are copied. The anonymous author does make some alterations by adding an exaggerated form of "stage Irish" comedy. The play shows evidence of hasty construction and is mere trash. The French play depends on comedy; the English on farce; the American on buffoonery.

None of the three plays on the theme of the assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday appears to have survived in printed form. The first to be played in the fifties was *Charlotte Corday* by Charlotte M. S. Barnes (Mrs. Conner) at the Arch Street Theatre, April 18, 1851. According to the historian of the Philadelphia stage,[2] the play was adapted from Lamartine's *Histoire des Girondins* and from *Charlotte Corday* by Dumanoir and Clairville.[3] Without the American play it is impossible to tell to what extent she drew on each of these sources. The French play is not impressive, possibly because the struggle is made chiefly an external one. The assassination, too, is made subservient to the love interest and comes at the end of the second act. As a consequence the third act drags wearily to a foregone conclusion. The collaborators fail to arouse any real interest in their heroine.

Of the other two non-extant plays on this theme, Durang offers the most that is known about them:

> October 14th [1852], Lola Montez produced for the first time in Philadelphia [Chestnut Street Theatre] her new historical drama, written by H. J. Conway, Esq., expressly for the Countess of Lansfeldt, entitled "Charlotte Corday; or Jacobins and Girondists." *Charlotte Corday*, Lola Montez. Several dramas on this subject had been dished up at our theatres. Mrs. E. Conner translated one from the French for the Arch Street Theatre; Miss J. M. Davenport had also given one [May 3, 1852, Chestnut Street Theatre], arranged for her with much cleverness, which served the inspiration of the hour and then passed into the shades of oblivion. Miss Davenport's excellent acting rendered the thrilling but revolting effects of Charlotte Corday of

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[2] Durang, Third Series, Chapter 102.

[3] *Charlotte Corday*, drame en trois actes, mêlé de chant, par MM. Dumanoir et Clairville; représénté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, le 14 juillet 1847. Paris, 1847.

much interest to public entertainment, but Lola Montez lacked most woefully dramatic ability and declamatory powers to render the fiery and spirited patriotic appeals of the inspired Charlotte in any way acceptable to intelligence . . . Instead of being the "Martyrdom of Charlotte Corday" the effect should have been named the *decollation* of the Countess of Lansfeldt.[4]

It may be that both these plays were adapted from the French. Miss Davenport had a number of plays adapted from the French in which she appeared.[5] Conway's play, if one may judge only from the list of characters, was not taken from the play of Dumanoir and Clairville. There were, however, at least four French plays on the subject, none of which is at present available. Perhaps all three American plays deserved to pass "into the shades of oblivion."

In *La Dame aux Camélias*[6] Alexandre Dumas, *fils*, produced an important play. So important is the play in French dramatic history that the late Brander Matthews could say "that it emancipated French comedy and gave it the right of free speech. . . . It changed the face of modern French comedy by pointing out the path back to nature, and the existing conditions of society, and by showing that life should be studied as it was, and not as it had been, or as it might be."[7] Although *La Dame aux Camélias* has many faults, and has been called "little more than a vulgar melodrama," it, nevertheless, marks the foundation of the modern *comédie de mœurs*. The play is romantic in subject matter, and has the effect of magnifying the importance of love and the power of passion in life. It combines, as do many romantic plays, comedy and serious drama. In treatment, however, it is realistic and constitutes a study of social customs and problems observed at first hand and drawn from personal experience. The play exhibits a sentimental view of life and has no philosophy; nevertheless, it has repeatedly triumphed on the stage.

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[4] *The Philadelphia Stage*, Third Series, Chapter 108.

[5] See discussion of Miss Davenport, p. 38-40.

[6] *La Dame aux Camélias*, drame en cinq actes par Alexandre Dumas fils; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Vaudeville, le 2 février 1852. New York, nouvelle édition, 1924.

[7] *French Dramatists of the 19th Century*, p. 142.

The characters in the play are:

Armand Duval	Un Commissionnaire
Georges Duval, père d'Armand	Domestiques
Gaston Rieux	Marguerite Gautier
Saint-Gaudens	Nichette
Gustave	Prudence
Le Comte de Giray	Nanine
Varville	Olympe
Arthur	Anaïs
Le Docteur	Invités

Le scène se passe vers 1848

The plot deals with the redemption of a courtesan through love. Marguerite Gautier, whose lovers have been many, finally falls in love wih Armand Duval. On money derived from the sale of luxuries given by other men, they spend a summer together in the country. This idyl is interrupted by Armand's father, who pleads that Marguerite give up Armand for the sake of his future and that of his sister. She abandons Armand for Varville. Not knowing her real reason for leaving him, Armand seeks a duel with Varville by publicly throwing at Marguerite the money he has won from his rival. Worn out by tuberculosis and her emotions, Marguerite retires to die. After Armand's father forgives her, Marguerite has but one hope—to see Armand before she dies. When he does return, penitent and humble, she greatly desires to live. Under the shock of the emotion, she dies.

The play of Dumas, *fils*, was adapted for Jean Davenport and first presented under the title of *Camille* at the Walnut Street Theatre, September 23, 1853.[8] Besides Miss Davenport, the cast included Mr. Young, Mr. Perry, Mr. Wheatleigh, and Mr. Eytinge.

The authorship of the play offers a problem. Durang in his report of the play's first presentation attributes the authorship to John Wilkins, the author of the comedy, *Civilization*, and calls the play *Camille*. Reporting a later performance, he assigns the

[8] *Public Ledger*, September 23, 1853.

play to Miss Davenport herself and refers to it as *Camille; or, The Fate of a Coquette.* When Wayne Olewine edited a play entitled *Camille; or, The Fate of a Coquette*, he wrote on the title page, ". . . translated by a gentleman of Philadelphia." It cannot be accepted finally that the Olewine edition is the one in which Miss Davenport played and which she may have translated. Durang's evidence points to a change of title, and the latter one used is the same as that of the Olewine edition. The evidence from the various casts is equivocal. The cast for the Walnut Street Theatre printed in the *Public Ledger* is limited to five names, but a full list is given in the New York *Herald*[9] for the opening at the Broadway Theatre. The cast in the *Herald* and that in the printed Olewine edition vary. Most of the players, including Miss Davenport, are in both. Both lists, too, omit the Comte de Giray and the Docteur. Annibelle appears in the *Herald* list but not in the Olewine edition, which does, however, add Arthur and Anaïs, who are not found in the former. The Olewine edition, then, may have been the one which Miss Davenport used. If it is, the evidence points to a revision of the play before it was printed. Since there were three other plays on this theme which have not survived, it is possible that Olewine used one of them for his edition and printed the cast that appeared with Miss Davenport in New York.

Miss Davenport had also a number of other adaptations from the French in her repertoire produced during the fifties. Adams gives credit to Miss F. Davenport for a translation of *Adrienne.*[10] As the date given is 1853, he must have meant Miss Jean Davenport, for she played the piece in that year.[11] Another play, *Mona Lisa; or, Da Vinci's Masterpiece*, in the New York Public Library, has on its title page, ". . . translated from the French, adapted for, and the property of, Miss Jean M. Davenport, Philadelphia, 1856." Ireland complicates the problem still further by noting two plays in Miss Davenport's repertoire

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[9] December 9, 1853.
[10] *Dictionary of the Drama*, p. 19.
[11] New York *Herald*, December 5, 1853.

presented in 1859: "a new play adapted from Scribe by O. S. Leland and entitled the 'Czarina' and 'Medea', translated from Legouve by C. C. Wyman."[12] We have, then, authorship for adaptations in which Miss Davenport appeared assigned to John Wilkins, O. S. Leland, C. C. Wyman, "a gentleman from Philadelphia," and Miss Davenport herself. None of the three men—to disregard the unnamed from Philadelphia—appears in the casts of her plays. It is probable, then, that Miss Davenport had some one connected with her company, but not an actor in her company, translate for her or assist her in the translation of French plays, and that the part played by the collaborators and the honor of authorship were deemed unimportant. Only *Mona Lisa* and *Camille*; *or*, *The Fate of a Coquette*, as edited by Olewine, have survived.

The changes which were effected in the Olewine edition of *Camille; or, The Fate of a Coquette* are apparent from a contemporary summary written on the occasion of the first presentation in New York:

> Camille Gautier . . . is a young woman of surpassing beauty, but her parents, or one of them, having committed a slight eccentricity, which sent him to the galleys, she is debarred from marrying the man to whom she is betrothed, because his family will not receive her. She, therefore, resolves to be revenged on the sex, and plunges into the wildest dissipation, flirting with everybody and jilting everybody . . .[13]

The fundamental change is reflected in the title, *Camille; or, The Fate of a Coquette*. Camille Gautier is no longer a courtesan but merely a coquette. Naturally this change alters the basic conception of the play. Whereas the original piece is a comedy of manners reflecting a certain section of Parisian society, the adaptation is a hybrid drama of no particular species reflecting society of no special place. To take a typical instance to show how the adaptation changes the meaning of a passage, one may cite the incident of the "yellow carriage." In the original it is related that one of the characters discovers his mistress is faith-

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[12] *Records of the New York Stage*, Vol. II, pp. 685, 686.
[13] New York *Herald*, December 10, 1853.

less to him when he finds her in the yellow carriage of a rival. In the adaptation the affair is described as an innocent elopement. Where the Olewine edition is not concerned with the interest of Camille's real character, it is a fairly literal translation of the original French.

There must have been almost as many versions of *Camille* as there were companies acting the play. According to a playbill[14] Mrs. D. P. Bowers starred in the rôle at the Arch, December 12, 1853, in a play "arranged by a Gentleman of Philadelphia." In 1859 Frank Drew had a version of *Camille* at the Walnut.[15] On the New York stage Laura Keene played the part sometime before 1857.[16] The most famous Camille in American theatrical history, however, is Matilda Heron. None of these plays adapted from *La Dame aux Camélias* has survived except the adaptation made by Miss Heron and that edited by Olewine.

Miss Heron's *Camille* was first played in Philadelphia at the Walnut Street Theatre, October 3, 1855,[17] and first copyrighted in 1856. She exchanged letters with the publisher, Samuel French, and secured from him an acknowledgment that he had unwittingly pirated her version of the play, an act for which he offered apologies. From Philadelphia Miss Heron went to Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans, appearing in the play eighty-nine nights. She gave her first presentation of *Camille* in New York at Wallack's Theatre, January 22, 1857.

The next day a brutally short summary of the plot was printed in the New York *Herald*. The reviewer wrote: "The heroine is a bad woman, who secures a spooney young man, then makes extraordinary sacrifices for him, and finally dies of consumption." When this summary is compared with the contemporary one given for the Olewine edition of *Camille*, and both are compared with the summary I have presented for Dumas' play, it is apparent from the very baldness of the *Herald* account that Miss Heron made a realistic adaptation. She makes some changes but none that affects Dumas' conception of the piece. Keeping

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[14] Shaw Theatre Collection.
[15] *North American and United States Gazette*, January 6, 1859.
[16] New York *Herald*, January 23, 1857.
[17] *Public Ledger*, October 3, 1855.

the same names for the characters retained, she drops five and makes Gaston the lover of Olympe. She elaborates the stage business, some of which the Olewine edition copies, for the latter, though played first, if it is the one in which Miss Davenport appeared, was published after Miss Heron's adaptation. She omits the gambling scene which Dumas had written evidently to give atmosphere. Added length is given to some of the speeches, and frequently a moralizing turn. In general, she tends to sentimentalize the character of Camille. One serious mistake she makes in adapting. Dumas cleverly conceals the contents of a letter at the close of the third act, leaving the audience in suspense. Instead of taking advantage of this device, Miss Heron has Armand read aloud the letter as the curtain falls. A further fault is apparent in the soliloquies, in which Miss Heron, in a manner not at all flattering to American audiences, makes the obvious even more obvious. Perhaps her fears as an actress weakened her judgment as an adapter.

The receptions accorded these adaptations of *La Dame aux Camélias* in which Miss Heron and Miss Davenport starred are interesting. In Philadelphia Durang felt it a matter of congratulation that Miss Davenport had offered a play "divested of all the immoral, objectionable features of the French drama" and one "so softened and modified as to assume the langage of a moral teacher" and as to afford "an entertainment of virtuous instruction."[18] In New York two months later the same play was greeted as "not always in accordance with the rules that govern English society, yet the situations are effective and the piece, as a whole, rather interesting."[19] The same reviewer paid an unconscious tribute to the novelty of the play: "We have never before seen a piece with so much talk in it go off so well." In three years, criticism changed. The conventionalities sanctioned by the French stage which were, in Durang's phrase, "clearly not suited to the American character," were offered in Miss Heron's version for the approval of New York audiences and critics. The *Herald* critic wrote about the "disgusting deformity" of the original but seemed to prefer it to the versions of Miss

[18] *The Philadelphia Stage*, Third Series, Chapter 126.
[19] New York *Herald*, December 10, 1853.

Davenport and Miss Keene. The *Tribune* critic, however, declared "such a hit was never before made"; and audiences kept crowding the theatre for forty-five nights.

As to the acting of these stars in the part of Camille, we may take the evaluation of their contemporary:

> Miss Davenport played Camille well. She was like a safe, strong ocean steamer . . . Miss Keene resembled a nicely built, beautifully fitted up yacht . . . Miss Heron we should describe as a high pressure, first-class Western steamboat, with all her fires up, extra weights on the safety valve, and not less than forty pounds of steam to the square inch. The effect is fine but the danger of an explosion is imminent . . . Miss Heron is justly entitled to rank as a grand *tragédienne*.[20]

During her first New York engagement in *Camille* at Wallack's Theatre, Miss Heron introduced another adaptation from the French in *Medea*, performed February 16, 1857.[21] Four years later she used the play at Drury Lane, London. The source of the play is *Medée* by Ernest Legouvé, a collaborator of Scribe.

Miss Heron's chief change is to turn the original verse into prose. Considering the result, one should be thankful that she did not attempt verse. The sentences are frequently incomplete; the movement is jerky. The order of words is twisted in following too closely the French original. She is guilty of such a line as, ". . . yet I will not peace." The translation follows the original closely except in the last act where it becomes freer and the action of the play is hastened through some omissions.

Published in the same volume as *Camille* and *Medea* is *Phædra*. An adaptation from Racine, it need not concern us further, since it was first played at Boston, in January of 1858[22] and did not reach New York until after the Civil War had begun.[23]

Miss Heron remained in New York at Wallack's Theatre for the opening of the fall season, September 7, 1857. A playbill for

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[20] New York *Herald*, January 23, 1857.
[21] Undated clipping, Shaw Theatre Collection, gives a performance at the Gayeties Theatre, New Orleans, December 2, 1856.
[22] Tompkins and Kilby, p. 64.
[23] Brown, Vol. II, p. 143.

this date gives the title of the play and this information: "*Fiammina*, which has been altered from the French of Mario Uchard[24] and adapted for the American stage by Miss Heron herself." Miss Heron's adaptation has not survived, and may never have been printed. During the same season, however, William Clapp, Jr., adapted the play under the French title, *La Fiammina*, for the Boston Museum, and this play has survived.

The characters of the French piece are:

Daniel Lambert, peintre
Henri Lambert, son fils
Duchâteau, député
Sylvain Duchâteau, son fils
Georges Dudley, pair d'Angleterre
Beppo
Domestiques
La Fiammina, chanteuse italienne
Laure Duchâteau, fille de Duchâteau
Madame Duchâteau, femme de Duchâteau
La Comtesse Barni
Miss Cliffort, gouvernante de Laure
La scène se passe à Paris, sous Louis-Philippe

Clapp renames some of his characters. Daniel and Henri Lambert become respectively Leon and Henri de Murilla. Laure becomes Rosalie. Beppo and a domestic become Pierre and Justin. The Countess Barni is lowered in rank to a baroness, and Miss Cliffort, the governess, is dropped.

Daniel Lambert and his wife, La Fiammina, married at an early age and parted after the birth of their son, Henri. When the play opens twenty years later, the husband is a painter, and the wife a famous prima donna and mistress to Lord Dudley. All four meet in Paris where Henri has just become engaged to Laure, the daughter of the deputy, Duchâteau. When the relationship existing among the various parties becomes known, Duchâteau feels that he cannot allow his daughter to marry and

[24] *La Fiammina*, comédie en quatre actes, en prose, par Mario Uchard; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre-Français, par les comédiens ordinaires de l'Empereur, le 12 mars 1857. Paris, nouvelle édition, 1891.

jeopardize her social position. Henri feels that he must avenge his mother by a duel with Lord Dudley. Better counsel prevails. La Fiammina claims the right to win Henri's affection and secures it with the approval of Daniel and Lord Dudley by leaving her paramour and going into retirement. As a consequence, she removes the objection of Duchâteau to the union of Henri and Laure.

It will be seen from this summary that the play is in the line of the realistic comedy introduced by Dumas, *fils*. Indeed, Uchard takes a fling at the romantic school, whose vogue in 1857 was already on the wane, and satirizes it in the person of Sylvain, who craves a romantic life. His comedy deals seriously with a separation of husband and wife and the rights of a mother in her child. La Fiammina wishes not for a reconciliation with her husband but for a chance to win the love of her son, Henri. The husband, Daniel, acquiesces in her wish. Believing that each life must be its own vindication, Daniel accepts Lord Dudley as the lover of his wife, now separated some twenty years from her husband. The son, Henri, refuses at first his father's realistic acceptance and in his resentment wants to have recourse to a duel, an essentially romantic solution. The attitude of the public is represented by Duchâteau's refusal to give his daughter in marriage to a boy whose mother is in open liaison with another man. The solution is the realist's. Henri foregoes the duel and La Fiammina retires from the stage.

Uchard was interested in presenting a situation; Clapp was interested in plot and turned a realistic comedy into another melodrama. By his numerous changes Clapp failed just as Leland did in the same year in adapting *Le Demi-Monde*. The first concern of the Boston playwright is a theatrically effective ending for each act. His first act closes on La Fiammina, screaming and fainting upon seeing her husband. The end of the second act shows a quarrel over a game of cards (a suggestion possibly from *La Dame aux Camélias*) and a challenge to a duel. The curtain falls in the third act upon Lord Dudley's discovery of his mistress and Henri preparing for an elopement. The play ends—this is the most measurable change in the plot—with a duel between Lord Dudley and Henri fought in the dark and ending

with the accidental death of La Fiammina. In these changes Clapp departs completely from the French except in the second act, and in that he makes his ending much more theatrical than the original. To prepare for these melodramatic endings he has to make numerous alterations in the original. One illustration will suffice. Uchard uses the Countess to show the growing dissatisfaction of La Fiammina with her life as an actress and her developing love for her son by having this former actress interest La Fiammina in marital happiness. Clapp lays little stress on this contrast of the Countess and La Fiammina, and makes of the Countess a female Pandarus bringing together those whom she believes to be lover and mistress and smirking over the deception practiced on Lord Dudley. By the employment of garden gate and secret passageway, Clapp is able to end his act on what appears to Lord Dudley as an elopement of his mistress with a rival. Either the adapter was too much bent on finding melodramatic features or else he considered that the American public was not yet ready to accept the solution of the play as Uchard offered it.

The translation where Clapp follows the French is fairly close and lacks in ease and finish. Where he invents dialogue, the language seems turgid, stilted, and unnatural. In particular, he devises a scene in which Henri talks to his mother like an unconscionable prig. No matter what the success at the box office, the adaptation fails as literature.

The French play attracted an English adapter in J. Palgrave Simpson, who presented it in two acts June 8, 1872 at the Olympic Theatre, London under the title, *Broken Ties*. In this adaptation the son is the means of bringing his parents together again.[25]

To resume consideration of the American adaptations in their chronological order is to return to 1854. The anonymous adaptation of that year has different titles. It was presented originally at the Chatham Street Theatre, April 17, 1854, under the title of *The Child of Prayer; or, A Thirst for Gold.*[26]

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[25] Adams, p. 210.
[26] New York *Herald*, April 17, 1854.

A Boston library has the same play entitled *The Sea of Ice; or A Thirst for Gold, and the Wild Flower of Mexico.* A copy in New York is called, *The Sea of Ice; or, The Prayer of the Wrecked, and the Gold Seekers of Mexico.* Ordinarily the title used was the shorter, though less sensational one, *The Sea of Ice.*

The play was popular. Jefferson notes a performance in Richmond, Virginia in 1854.[27] It ran for four weeks at the Walnut and for seven weeks at Laura Keene's Theatre in 1857. Leuchs has found that the play was presented under the title, *Das Eismeer oder das Gebet der Mutter*, at the German Theatre in New York, after it "had scored a sensational hit at Laura Keene's."[28] A playbill in the library of the University of Pennsylvania shows a performance as late as 1867. In the same year it was translated for the English stage. It is difficult to find reasons for such success. A contemporary analysis predicted lasting popularity, finding the play "neither original nor natural, nor even reasonable, but . . . admirably constructed and exceedingly effective."[29] The objections stated against the piece are valid, and its popularity proves its effectiveness. It is not, however, well constructed, for there are evidences of hasty work in adapting.

The Sea of Ice is an adaptation of *La Prière des Naufragés* by Dennery and Dugué.[30] The French play has the following characters:

Carlos	Premier Matelot
Barabas	Deuxième Matelot
Raoul de Lascours	Un Officier
Georges de Laval	Louise de Lascours }
Horace de Brionne	Ogarita }
Medoc	La Comtesse de Théringe
Un Secretaire d'Ambassade	Diane
Un Intendant	Marthe, âgée de six ans

La scène se passe vers 1705 dans les deux premiers actes, et quinze ans plus tard dans les trois derniers

[27] *Autobiography*, p. 157.
[28] *The Early German Theatre in New York*, p. 215.
[29] New York *Herald*, November 10, 1857.
[30] *La Prière des Naufragés*, drame en cinq actes, par MM. Dennery et Ferdinand Dugué; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, le 20 octobre 1853. Paris, nouvelle édition, s. d.

The Sea of Ice is a melodramatic period play. Captain Lascours, refusing to turn his ship over to Carlos so that the adventurer may seek gold in Mexico, is set adrift with his wife and daughter, Marie (the Marthe of the original), and the faithful cabin boy, Barabas. When the ice flow on which they take shelter breaks up, the captain and his wife are drowned; but Marie is saved by whalers and landed in Mexico. The geography, it will be seen, is a trifle vague. Fifteen years later when Carlos, now the Marquis del Monte, has accumulated a fortune and is ready to sail back to France, his pirates capture a white girl from the Indians. She knows the prayer she has learned from her mother and this helps to establish her identity as the Marie of the first act. She marries Del Monte to prove his perfidy, and with the aid of Barabas she is successful in unmasking him.

The changes are few. The unnamed characters of the original are given names, although so close is the translation that in the text the designations of the original are followed. The Carlos of the first acts becomes subsequently the Marquis del Monte. Marthe is renamed Marie. By having the Marquis kill himself instead of having him led off by the police, the play is rendered more melodramatic. Another alteration affects the character, Barabas, adding more comedy and changing his speeches to make them more salty than in the original. The omissions include the cutting of unnecessarily long speeches, especially the moralizing ones, and the dropping of a whole scene of exposition at the beginning of the second period of the play. There is one rather curious omission. In the original, Ogarita (Marie), not knowing whether to marry the villain, opens the Bible at random and is guided by the first verse her eyes light upon. This incident is omitted, possibly because the verse is in the *Apocrypha*, or, more probably, because at the time the use of a Bible on the stage might have been discountenanced. Aside from these changes, the adaptation follows the French too closely to claim any merit.

The original is called a *drame;* the adaptation "a romantic drama." Both are in fact melodramas with only such romance as may be had from a setting on the seas, on an ice flow, and in Mexican territory. The interest of the French in a colonial empire may have led to the setting in Mexico. Melodramatic

features have already been cited in title and plot. The characters, too, fit that type of play: a virtuous heroine, Marie, is persecuted by a villain, Del Monte, and is saved by a *niais*, Barabas. Neither play has any standing as literature.

Within three weeks time in 1857, Charles Gayler had two adaptations played on the New York stage. The first was *The Love of a Prince; or, The Court of Prussia*, offered at Laura Keene's Theatre, April 13, 1857. It is drawn from *Le Sergent Frédéric* by Vanderburch and Dumanoir.[31] The adaptation is a slavish translation extending to the stage business, has no literary value, and deserves to rank even below the original. The changes are few and unimportant. Some attempts at humor are added, and the ending is rendered more saccharine.

The characters, kept in the adaptation, are as follows:

Frédéric—Guillaume I^{er}, roi de Prussia
Charles Frédéric, son fils aîné
La Reine Sophie
Élizabeth de Brunswick, princess d'Autriche
Le Général Sturner
Louise, sa femme
Le Comte de Sœchendorf
Le Comte Gustave de Keitt, lieutenant
Le Baron de Koppen-Nicken, chambellan
Jean Fisch, meunier
Christine, sa femme
Stolbach, ancien soldat
Fanferlich, garçon meunier
La scène se passe à Berlin et aux environs, en 1730

The plot of this comedy concerns the relations of Frederick William I, of Prussia, and his son, the future Frederick the Great. The son has been ordered to marry Elizabeth, countess of Brunswick. The two meet at the christening of the miller's son and fall in love, though neither knows the identity of the other. After this, rather than obey his father's orders, Frederick and

[31] *Le Sergent Frédéric*, comédie-vaudeville en cinq actes, par MM. Vanderburch et Dumanoir; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de la Gaîté, le 21 juin 1855. Paris, 1855.

his friend, Gustave, make preparations to leave the country. To save his friend in an affair involving a woman's honor, Frederick arrests him for desertion. Both come before a court martial board presided over by the woman's husband, and are condemned to die. Parental love and the disclosure of the real cause of the flight lead to the annulment of the sentence and a love match between the two of royal rank.

Le Sergent Frédéric is a comedy made over from a *mélodrame* of three acts, *La Jeunesse du Grand Frédéric* by H. Lemaire and Boirie. The latter, presented in Paris in 1809, is not available but it is the source from which William Abbott acknowledges deriving his melodrama in two acts, *The Youthful Days of Frederick the Great.*[32] Curiously enough this is almost the title used in the playbill for September 20, 1858 at the Walnut: "*The Youth of Frederick the Great*, constructed from the French of Vanderburch and Dumanoir . . . second time in America . . . written expressly by the Dramatist of the Theatre." The characters vary slightly and this may have been a second version; but more probably it is Gayler's comedy fitted to the Philadelphia company by a local playwright. There can, however, be no doubt as to the relation between William Abbott's play and Gayler's. The fundamental situation is the same, the flight of a prince to avoid a marriage. In addition to the two characters of Prussian royalty, three others are the same, with slight changes in spelling. Although the melodrama makes much of the court martial and the firing squad, and the comedy stresses the humorous elements of the situation, they both use many of the same incidents. From this evidence of similarity existing between the American play of 1857 and the English play of 1817, I conclude that *Le Sergent Frédéric* is made over from *La Jeunesse du Grand Frédéric.*

Gayler improved the quality of his next adaptation, *The Son of the Night.* This play occupied the boards of the Broadway Theatre, May 4, 1857, just three weeks after his first play.[33] It is true that he had a better original to work with in *Le Fils de la*

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[32] London, 2nd ed., 1817.
[33] New York *Herald*, May 4, 1857.

Nuit by Victor Séjour.[34] The French play had had "a run of four hundred consecutive nights," according to advance press notices.

The characters are as follows:

PERSONNAGES DU PROLOGUE

Le Duc de Sylla	Petruccio
Le Comte d'Orbani	Premier Pirate
Bravadura	Deuxième Pirate
Le Marquis de Montéfiori	Premier Soldat
Guisca	Deuxième Soldat
Tomasso	Julia Favelli

Ghébel

PERSONNAGES DU DRAME

Ben Leil	Un Homme du Peuple
Donato	Un Sicilien
Bravadura	Un Lazzarone
Guisca	Un Bourgeois
Montéfiori	Julia Favelli
Le Vice-Roi	Ghébel
Tomasso	Myrtha
Premier Pirate	Phingar
Deuxième Pirate	Fiammetta
Troisième Pirate	Une Bohémienne
Un Mendiant	Beppo

La scène se passe en Italie; le prologue en 1503, le drame en 1523

Again a period play is under consideration. In the prologue the Duke de Sylla falls fighting the tyrants of Naples. His son, the Ben Liel of the the subsequent acts, is exchanged in the cradle with the son of the nurse, Ghébel. Twenty years later, Ben Liel is the leader of a band of pirates, and the nurse's child, the Duke Donato, is accepted as the son of Sylla. In Naples,

[34] *Le Fils de la Nuit*, drame en trois actes et un prologue, par Victor Séjour; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, le 11 juillet 1856. Paris, 1856.

Ben Liel falls in love and woos Myrtha in romantic fashion, though she is the betrothed of Donato. The two rivals fight a duel; then the war spreads to their partizans, and Ben Liel's island fortress is betrayed into the power of Donato. The pirates' ship is seized and Ben Liel taken prisoner because he refuses to sacrifice Myrtha, whom he has on board. The execution of Ghébel's plot to slay him while in prison is placed in the hands of Bravadura, who had exchanged the children twenty years before. The plot is betrayed, and Donato dies from the poison meant for Ben Liel's mother.

Without changing the plot Gayler handles the original freely. He omits one tableau entirely, but what he loses in vividness in being forced to use exposition he gains in condensation of a play that is too full of incident. Several scenes are omitted and the order of still others changed. The most important change Gayler makes is in the character of Ghebel, who dominates the last act so that it is not so much the triumph of Ben Liel that interests the reader as the overthrow of Ghebel. Gayler cleverly points the pathos of this tragedy, and by shifting the emphasis to Ghebel he ties up the catastrophe with the prologue. The language of the original is ornate. In translating Gayler simplifies this by cutting long speeches, by dropping figures of speech, and by ignoring literary allusions. The work of translation is much better done than that in *The Love of a Prince.*

As a play *The Son of a Night* is a marked improvement over his previous adaptation, but it has no claims as literature. It is melodrama with a romantic flair. The plot is too involved; the situations too many and too highly elaborated. The characters, with the exception of Ghebel in the last act, are animated sentiments. It is the sort of play in which at the mention of the word *mother* the hero "kneels and uncovers."

In 1857, Oliver S. Leland adapted two comedies from the French. In both the scene is transferred from Paris to London. Why the change should not have been made to the United States is the subject for conjecture. By placing his comedies in London, Leland probably felt that a social atmosphere could be evoked by the mention of governmental ministries, country estates, and titles. Other playwrights had created this atmosphere for

English comedy, and Leland had but to claim their heritage. With the scene in his own country Leland would have been under the necessity of making his own background of social contrasts by building up characterization.

Leland's *The Rights of Man* was presented at Wallack's Theatre, May 23, 1857. It is an adaptation from *Les Droits de l'Homme* by J. de Prémary.[35] The adaptation is a very fair comedy with humor in both character and situation. The plot, based on human weakness, is amusing. Some of the characterizations are overdone, but the situation, "women will rule, despite the rights of man," is founded on an idea which many playwrights, notably Barrie, have capitalized. It has none of the melodramatic features that mar *Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle*, and deserves to rank high in the adaptations of the period.

Two years before the presentation of Leland's adaptation, *Les Droits de l'Homme* had been presented in French at the Walnut Street Theatre by the three sisters of Mademoiselle Rachel on the occasion of her appearance in Philadelphia.[36] Although the piece announced was *Adrienne*, Rachel was ill and the substitution was made.

The characters in the French play are:

Duroc, ex-chef de division au ministère des Affaires étrangères
Roger de Julianne, diplomate
Gaston d'Arthès, substitut
Caroline de Lussan, jeune veuve
Angélique, femme de M. Duroc
Gabrielle, pupille de M. Duroc
L'action se passe à la maison de campagne de Duroc

In Leland's adaptation the characters are renamed as follows:

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[35] *Les Droits de l'Homme*, comédie en deux actes, en prose, par Jules de Prémary [Regnault]; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de l'Odéon, le 6 novembre 1851, et reprise à la Comédie-Français. Paris, nouvelle édition, 1879.

[36] *Public Ledger*, November 21, 1855.

Duroc	Sir William Thornton
Roger de Julianne	Hon. Arthur Ellesmere
Gaston d'Arthès	Walter Grenville
Caroline de Lussan	Lady Aurora
Angélique	Lady Emily
Gabrielle	Helen Aubrey

Helen and Walter really love each other but she is deaf to his entreaties because she fears to lose a lover and her liberty in a husband who tries to dominate her as her guardian, Sir William, does his wife, Emily. Lady Aurora makes clear to Helen that men have only the appearance of ruling, and shows her how Emily manages to have her way with Sir William, though leaving him the outward semblance of power. Sir William suspects Walter of being his wife's lover while in reality she is flirting mildly with Arthur, who hopes to pique Lady Aurora. The play ends with a scene in which Emily gains her own way; Helen accedes to Walter; and Lady Aurora, to keep her reputation, accepts Arthur.

Leland's play is an adaptation of omissions and one change. The omissions are numerous; for the original is unnecessarily long. These efforts in condensing the dialogue represent a distinct gain in rapidity of action without any sacrifice of plot or characterization. He is not so fortunate in his own change at the end of the play. *Les Droits de l'Homme* stresses the proverb: "Du côte de la barbe est la toute-puissance." The play ends with the betrothal of Gaston (Walter) and Gabrielle (Helen) and the adoption by the lovers of a new proverb: "Du côte de l'amour est la toute-puissance." The last speeches of the women, especially those of Caroline (Lady Aurora) banishing Roger (Arthur) to the Turkish court, are in the nature of jibes at the supremacy of man's rights, and thus the ironic note is preserved at the end. Leland changes this by bestowing Lady Aurora upon Arthur. In so doing he brings down his curtain on the sweet words of a betrothal instead of upon the ironical remarks of the original. The reasons for the change must remain in the dark. It may have been on the grounds of morality, for an American audience may have held her honor compromised by the discovery of a man in her chambers. It may have been

Leland's desire to have a so-called happier ending. Whatever the reason, the ending does violence to the character of Lady Aurora as originally conceived. Leland translates accurately but in our own idiom. He had a better knowledge of French than any of the adapters except Boucicault and Fanny Kemble.

Leland's next work, *Beatrice; or, The False and the True*, was not so much a translation as an adaptation of *Le Demi-Monde* by Dumas, *fils*.[37] The French play is usually considered the masterpiece of the younger Dumas. In it he began his study of social conditions. *La Dame aux Camélias*, already considered in adaptation, is dominated by a great passion romantically conceived but realistically treated. *Le Demi-Monde* lacks the element of romance. In the words of a recent critic: "Thus, with this play, Dumas appears as a revolutionary . . . He has now rejected practically all of the traditions of the 'conventional' theatre, infused in it a realism unknown to previous plays of the nineteenth century, and centered interest upon local social conditions. This latter quality is, perhaps, the play's greatest enemy, for *Le Demi-Monde* is too essentially Parisian to impress an audience unacquainted not alone with Paris, but particularly with Paris of 1855."[38]

The characters of *Le Demi-Monde* are as follows:

Olivier de Jalin	Troisième Domestique
De Nanjac	La Baronne Suzanne d'Ange
Hippolyte Richond	La Vicomtesse de Vernières
De Tonnerins	Valentine de Santis
Premier Domestique	Marcelle
Deuxième Domestique	Une Femme de Chambre

The background of the play is the "half world" where meet those who are not courtesans or outcasts but who for some reason are beyond the social pale. Three characters of the play are typical of this world. Madame de Santis is a "widow" of unsavory past not above blackmailing her husband. The Vis-

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[37] *Le Demi-Monde*, comédie cinq actes par Alexandre Dumas fils; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, le 20 mars 1855. In *Théâtre Complet* de Dumas, Paris, nouvelle édition, s. d.

[38] Schwarz, pp. 39–40.

countess de Vernières is a real widow who rears her niece in this world and thereby jeopardizes the girl's future. The Baroness Suzanne is a woman of false title and questionable morals who is a social climber. The problem of the plot is how Olivier, who has been the lover of Suzanne, is to prevent his friend, De Nanjac, who knows nothing of the *demi-monde*, from marrying Suzanne. In his fight to achieve this purpose Olivier uses a number of weapons. He denounces her social position in the famous comparison of the peaches. In guarded fashion he hints that she is accessible without marriage. He denies her marriage, her title, and her widowhood. He gives De Nanjac the letters Suzanne has written him. Finally he wins his battle by a rather despicable trick through which he forces Suzanne to confess her past before De Nanjac. On her part, Suzanne counters cleverly enough. She forges certificates of birth and marriage. From a former lover she secures a settlement. She even proves that the letters are not in her handwriting. With rare diplomacy she attacks her own social position, which act promptly forces De Nanjac to assume her defense. She does, however, succumb to Olivier's trick.

Leland's adaptation of Dumas's play is called *Beatrice; or, The False and the True*, and was presented at the Arch Street Theatre, December 16, 1857. The cast for the evening was as follows:

Ramiro di Peschiera.....Mr. E. L. Davenport
Lord Walter Courtenay.....Mr. Wm. Wheatley
Lord Landsmere.....Mr. John Dolman
Rev. Mr. Hoffman.....Mr. A. Fisher
Mark Bellamy.....Mr. W. S. Fredericks
Richards.....Mr. M'Cullough
James.....Mr. D. Reilly
Beatrice di Negra.....Mrs. E. L. Davenport
Lady Edith Bellenden.....Mrs. M. Elmore
Clara Bellenden.....Miss Emma Taylor
Mrs. Fanny Fitzherbert.....Mrs. Thayer
Francesca.....Miss Clara Reed[39]

[39] Shaw Theatre Collection. The playbill is for Saturday evening, December 19, 1857, "being for the fourth time." The characters are the same in the published book except that William is substituted for James.

Leland completely renames the characters. He draws on Bulwer's *My Novel* for three names. Bulwer's characters include Madame Beatrice de Negra, Lord Lansmere, and Giulio Franzini, Count di Peschiera. With slight changes of spelling Leland uses these names. The name Mark occurs also in the novel, but the last name is not Bellamy. For the remaining characters, Leland appears to have invented names. Five of his characters are taken from the French play. Beatrice is the Suzanne of the original; Di Peschiera comes closer to being Olivier than any other character in *Beatrice*, although Lord Walter has some of his traits. Lord Landsmere is De Nanjac grown older. Mrs. Fitzherbert is a shadowy Viscountess de Vernières.

Leland's play is a melodrama adapted from a social comedy. The basic plot is the same, that is, how is Di Peschiera to prevent Lord Landsmere's marriage to Beatrice, an adventuress; but some melodramatic threads have been woven into the adaptation. Before the play opens Beatrice Franzini (the family name is that of Di Peschiera in Bulwer's novel) had allowed her lover to die. His friend, Lord Walter, although somewhat under her spell, and in his turn madly loved by her, has sworn to be avenged on her. He becomes engaged to Clara, the niece of Lord Landsmere, the man whom Beatrice aims to marry. Di Peschiera, unlike Olivier, aids her cause until he has freed himself from her power by the payment of a gambling debt of five thousand pounds. In order to isolate Lord Landsmere and to thwart Lord Walter's marriage, Beatrice accuses Clara of having an intrigue, and names the place and witnesses. Clara explains that she treated a neighboring boy affectionately in order to save him from the attacks of her dog. Her explanation is accepted when Di Peschiera, helped by the discoveries made by a servant at a keyhole, unmasks the plottings of Beatrice. Not, however, until Lord Walter has revealed the history of Beatrice's first love, is Lord Landsmere saved from her.

The foregoing summary emphasizes the differences existing between the original and the adaptation rather than the similarities. There are, however, many likenesses. The background of social conditions is somewhat the same, although the adaptation stresses the upper levels of society. Leland takes almost literally

the famous comparison of the peaches. The *demi-monde* instead of being represented by three women characters as in the original has only two, Beatrice and Mrs. Fitzherbert. The latter suggests the Viscountess de Vernières but scarcely takes her place. The chief use made of Mrs. Fitzherbert is to have her serve as an amanuensis in writing the letters Beatrice sent Di Peschiera; whereas the Viscountess plays an active rôle in her world and in the furtherance of the plot. In construction Leland makes clever use of the background which he borrows. It is still true, however, that the social conditions were peculiar to Paris in 1855, and that the sea change was bound to affect them adversely.

In plot, too, Leland takes much from the original. The fundamental situation around which the plot is built is the same in both plays. The weapons used by the two antagonists are the same with one exception, the trick whereby the woman is put to rout. These weapons are employed for the most part in the third act by Dumas. This act Leland takes over to make his fourth. In adapting he follows the original closely, departing from it only to make the account more brief and to fit the new set of characters. For his fifth act Leland gets suggestions from Dumas. He parallels what he found there: a woman trying to win the love of one man but willing to accept that of another. In the original, Suzanne trying to win De Nanjac but willing to accept Olivier; in the adaptation, Beatrice gambling on Walter but not above accepting Lord Landsmere. The scene in both is laid in a man's apartments. Dumas' device is a clever one but it is simply confusing in Leland's play and not at all necessary, for Leland had already provided for his solution by information gotten through a keyhole. The use of this device leads, moreover, to a contradiction in the character of Beatrice. At the end of the play she is made to appear unnecessarily stupid. Leland was ill advised in trying to adapt the last act of the original.

Dumas was primarily interested in the social conditions which he presented in a cleverly constructed plot. Leland was not interested in these social conditions but in adapting the plot. The characters in *Le Demi-Monde* fight against the social system in which they find themselves. In *Beatrice* the struggle is between individuals. While Beatrice wants to rise above her social

position, she also wants to win her enemy as her lover. Lord Walter aims also to revenge his friends and his fiancée. Only Di Peschiera has something of Oliver's attitude, but even he fights to free himself from Beatrice because of debt and not because of social considerations. *Le Demi-Monde* is a *comédie de mœurs; Beatrice; or, The False and the True* is a play with not a few melodramatic features and time-worn conventionalities of the stage.

As in *The Rights of Man*, Leland shows himself a capable translator. His work is entirely adequate. He is quite proficient in inventing dialogue for Di Peschiera where he could not follow the original lines of Olivier because of the difference in situation. Di Peschiera suffers no loss of wit in the adaptation. Leland is guilty, however, of descending to melodramatic rant in the last speech of the play, put in the mouth of Beatrice:

> But as for you, Ramiro di Peschiera, the hour of my vengeance will surely come. Beware! I hate you! hate you as I loved him! Beware! You know the sure unfailing vengeance of my race; and till my dying hour will I pursue you. By day will I dog your footsteps, by night will I haunt your couch. When you sleep, the knife shall glitter before your eyes; when you drink, the thought of poison shall overtake you. Never more shall you know repose . . . Again I say beware.

That is mere claptrap and quite a contrast to his fourth act.

Beatrice; or, The False and the True was so well received by the critics that a special playbill was printed for the night of December 23, 1858, containing excerpts from the favorable reviews. Leland had not announced his play as an adaptation, and it was welcomed as an original composition. The following quotation is from the *Sunday Mercury*, cited on the playbill: "That there is a greater degree of interest manifested for American productions, is evidenced from the fact that the mere announcement of a home-made play attracts the intellect of the city—and with us their name is legion." In reading that, Leland must have felt a blush of shame for borrowings from Bulwer and Dumas.

Six months after the performance of Leland's adaptation, Mrs. E. G. Squier made a translation of *Le Demi-Monde*. No

record of a theatrical presentation of this translation has been found. She adopts the newly coined word Dumas uses for a title and keeps the same characters. Miss Squier's play is a translation designed for the reading public. She doubtless hoped for a stage performance, but probably felt that the play was too frank in its study of Parisian social life for such an eventuality. That she had such a hope is to be inferred from her preface in which she intimates that the "shafts of the playwright" will do as much "to extirpate a social excresence like the *demi-monde*" as the "exhortations of the preacher." She was undoubtedly concerned, as she thought Dumas had been, with pointing a moral, and to this end made her only significant change, an addition in which she contrasted the lives of the *demi-monde* with the lives of those people in society living in adultery. She was also concerned for the reader of her translation over the loss of "the grace of language, or the sparkle and pungency of expression, which distinguished the original." She need not have been so concerned, for her translation, though not always happy in its phraseology, sometimes flashes felicitously.[40] On the whole, she was worthy of discharging the labor of translation.

When Burton's Theatre was reopened April 6, 1859, under the general direction of F. B. Conway, the play produced on that evening was the *Czarina*, an adaptation from Scribe by O. S. Leland.[41] The original French play is *La Czarine*.[42]

The characters of the French play are as follows:

Le Czar Pierre I^{er}
Menzikoff, premier ministre
Le Comte Sapieha, polonais
Villerbeck, Hollandais, amiral au service de la Russie
Jakinski, capitaine des gardes, chargé de la police du palais et de la ville.
Un Huissier
La Czarine
Olga, fille de Menzikoff

[40] As an illustration: The original line, "Madame de Santis aime le spectacle, elle a un voiture, Marcelle en profite," is translated, "Madame de Santis has a box at the opera and a carriage; Marcella occupies a seat in both."

[41] Ireland, Vol. II, p. 685.

[42] *La Czarine*, drame en cinq actes, par Eugène Scribe; représenté, pour le première fois, sur le Théâtre-Français, le 15 janvier 1855. *Oeuvres complètes* de Eugène Scribe, Paris, 1875.

Although Leland's play has not survived, the list of his characters has and it proves conclusively the source of his adaptation. Unlike his practise in *The Rights of Man* and *Beatrice*, he does not change the names; and the same characters, with the exception of the *huissier* and Jakinski, appear in both lists.

The Maiden Wife; or, Romance After Marriage by F. B. Goodrich and F. L. Warden, offered first at Wallack's Theatre, November 17, 1857, is not drawn from a French play but from "an epistolary romance." The "epistolary romance" proves to be *La Clef d'Or*.[43] While the conversation is written like the dialogue of a play and is frequently closely followed in the adaptation, the form of the original puts it beyond the limits of this thesis. The play should be briefly noted here, however, in one particular: it shows clearly that romantic subjects were being satirized on the stage.

The orginal treats a serious theme with lightness and grace. The play does not plead, but the right of a girl to romantic love after marriage is implicit in the treatment of the subject. The adapters take over this situation but invent one of romantic love before marriage. A romantic courtship is satirized in this invention. The adapted play is a romance but a romance that borders closely on social comedy with a tone of satire. When we find fun being made of romance, it is a sign that romance has had its day.

Le Testament de César Girodot by Adolphe Belot and Edmond Villetard was presented at the Odéon in Paris September 30, 1859. It was translated by Maria Grace Walcot under the title, *The Cup and the Lip*. The authorship of a play of that title has been claimed by the publishers for Fitz James O'Brien on the title page of his play, *A Gentleman from Ireland*. He may have written such a play, but the published translation is evidently Mrs. Walcot's, for her name is on the title page and the book was copyrighted by Charles M. Walcot, the actor and playwright. The play was not performed.

The characters, which are the same in the original and in the adaptation, are as follows:

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[43] In *Scènes et Proverbes* par Octave Feuillet, Paris, nouvelle édition, 1859.

Mons. Lehuchoir	Mons. Massias
Isidore Girodot	Notary
Celestin Jamart	Hortense
Lucien	Clementine
Langlumeau	Pauline

The first act introduces the characters. Massias is a friend of the late César Girodot, whose will is to be read to the assembled relatives. Knowing all the family weaknesses, Massias touches on them humorously. Lucien desires to marry Pauline, though he has been in love with Hortense, wife of Lehuchoir. Langlumeau hopes for the acres adjoining his little farm. Isidore and his wife, Clementine, are busybodies and are already appraising their inheritance. Isidore, as the will describes him, is "a jealous, venomous nobody." Lehuchoir is a man of affairs and a bully to his wife's poor relations. The will disinherits them all and provides that these relatives shall meet in fourteen days to elect an heir but that they shall indulge in no intrigue. They all meet as members of a house party at the home of Lehuchoir. At the gathering there is considerable jockeying for favored positions. Suspicion of intrigue blights the romance budding between Pauline and Lucien. After the ballot has given the inheritance to Lehuchoir, a codicil to the will is read giving all the property to Pauline and advising her that she has now come to know her relatives too well to trust them.

Royer notes that the original comedy was a great success.[44] Its humor, subdued and subtle, deserved such reward. The humor of the adaptation is made more boisterous and, at the same time, vulgar. Other changes alter the opening scene. The American author starts with exposition; the original does not introduce this exposition until later. What the adaptation gains in characterization is lost in interest. The last scene is also changed to give Isidore a chance to reverse the course he has run throughout the play and to declare himself in a moral tag as a friend of all mankind. One scene is droppped. None of the grace of the French is found in the literal translation. De-

[44] *Histoire Universelle du Théâtre*, Vol. V, p. 302.

partures from the text are usually made for the sake of humor and result in over-emphasis.

Merely from a consideration of the play, several reasons may be alleged for its failure to be produced. There is too little action for such a lengthy production. The humor was evidently thought not to be sufficiently farcical, as is proved by the additions to it. The social and economic backgrounds of the two peoples differed. The French were better able to understand the desires of each of the prospective heirs for a small annuity. The American public might have smiled, they would not have laughed, and few would have fully comprehended this comedy, if it had been played.

The Romance of a Poor Young Man by Pierrepont Edwards and Lester Wallack was first acted at Wallack's Theatre, January 24, 1860. The two authors adapted a play of Octave Feuillet entitled, *Le Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre.*[45] The French play had been drawn from the author's novel of the same title.

The characters of the French piece are as follows:

Maxime Odiot, marquis de Champcey
M. de Bévallan
M. Laroque, octogénaire
Laubépin, notaire honoraire
Alain, vieux domestique
Le docteur Desmarets
Gaston de Lussac
Vauberger, concierge
Champlein
Yvonnet
Marguerite, fille de madame Laroque
Madame Laroque, belle-fille de M. Laroque
Mademoiselle Hélouin, institutrice
Madame Aubry, parente ruinée, recueillie dans le château
Christine
Madame Vauberger
Jeunes Filles

La scène se passe à Paris et en Bretagne

[45] *Le Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre*, comédie en cinq actes, par Octave Feuillet; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Vaudeville, le 22 novembre 1858. Paris, 1859.

Edwards and Wallack rename Maxime as Manuel, and De Bévallan as De Bevannes. Laubépin is merged with the character of Desmarets, the composite figure taking the latter's name. This change makes necessary the addition of a new name for the notary, and Nouret is chosen. Vauberger, Champlein, Gaston de Lussac, and the *jeunes filles* are all dropped.

Until the very end of the play Manuel labors under the handicap that his good deeds are all turned to his disadvantage. Reduced to poverty, Manuel is forced to accept a position as a steward in the household of Laroque, an old West Indian trader on the verge of death. Other members of the household are an heiress, Marguerite, an heiress-hunter, De Bevannes, and Hélouin, a governess who wishes to marry a title. Laroque receives Manuel with horror but soon becomes accustomed to look to him for guidance. Hélouin, who knows his real rank as a marquis, desires to marry him; but Marguerite distrusts him, because she thinks he has entered the household in disguise to win her wealth. Manuel offers proof of his real affection for Marguerite by leaping from the ruin of an old chateau in which they have been accidently locked at twilight. A letter which Manuel writes to his sister is turned against him by Hélouin, whose advances he resists. Marguerite determines to marry De Bevannes. When Laroque dies, Manuel destroys one of his papers. This is held against him until the notary exonerates him by showing that the paper contains Laroque's confession that the old trader had mulcted Manuel's ancestor. Marguerite can hold out no longer against so much goodness. The two are married.

The two adapters cut, add to, and alter the original. Besides dropping three characters, they omit scenes in which young village girls congratulate Marguerite and De Bévallan, in which De Bévallan makes love to Hélouin, and in which the character of Manuel is tried. They also omit some of the songs and many of the stage directions. Most of these omissions are designed to speed the action of a play that in the original is too leisurely. The chief addition is to the comedy, where Edwards and Wallack score. They are not so fortunate in all of their alterations. The play is rendered somewhat melodramatic by Hélouin's

relentless pursuit of her selfish designs, a character she does not have in the original. The sentimentality of the French play is deepened. The last act is changed without affecting the outcome of the plot. One substitution of a soliloquy for expository dialogue does shorten the play but not sufficiently to excuse the amateurishness of the construction. Improvements in motivation are made in several scenes Feuillet reveals at the end of his fifth tableau the contents of a letter. The adapters, unlike Miss Heron in *Camille*, cleverly save this information and keep the audience in supense. Only in tableau four, the scene of the ruined chateau, do the adapters follow the French very closely.

The American adaptation is not an improvement on the French original. Edwards and Wallack, indeed, have added humor and better construction; but, they have increased the sentimentality and changed the character drawing to make the play more melodramatic. They have changed a romantic comedy into a romantic melodrama. The adaptation is melodramatic in having music and in having a character who persecutes and one who is persecuted. There is, however, no *niais*. It is romantic in expressions of feeling for ruined castles and in its employment of heroic self-sacrifice.

A critic could write of the first production of *Le Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre* that it ". . . fit couler de douces larmes et obtint le plus légitime et le plus persévérant des succès."[46] A revival almost forty years later was not met so cordially, for the reviewer wrote that ". . . il y a encore un public capable de se plaire à cette sorte de théâtre, puériles aventures, héroïsmes bébêtes, sentimentalities fades, et flasque langage incolere."[47]

The play was evidently a popular one in America. Three months after the adaptation was played at Wallack's Theatre, the patrons of the Arch Street Theatre were treated to the play in the original French.[48] Three weeks later *The Romantic Burlesque of a Very Poor Young Man* by Charles Gayler was announced

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[46] Royer, Vol. V, p. 267.
[47] Mendès, Vol. II, p. 224.
[48] *Public Ledger*, April 23, 1860.

for McDonough's Gaieties Theatre on Race Street.[49] According to Leuchs this play "found its mate in *Der Roman eines armen jungen Manners*, given at the Stadt Theatre in New York. The latter is described as taken from Octave Feuillet and recast for the German stage by E. Juin and P. J. Reinhard."[50]

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[49] Playbill in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.
[50] *The Early German Theatre in New York*, p. 220.

IV

American Adaptations by Dion Boucicault

Dion Boucicault adapted many plays from the French during his lifetime. He began in England during the early days of his career as a playwright and continued the practice when he came to America. I shall discuss only those adaptations from the French which were made by Boucicault while he was living in this country, and which were first presented here.

The first of such adaptations from the French made by Boucicault in this country is *Andy Blake; or, The Irish Diamond.* The play is taken from *Le Gamin de Paris* by Bayard and Vanderburch,[1] the former a collaborater of Scribe. The French public heartily applauded the piece for more than two hundred representations, and the critics hailed the work of Bayard: ". . .il donne un libre cours à cette sensibilité mêlée de rire, de franchise et de belle humeur qui constitue un nouveau genre de comédie larmoyante avec *le Gamin de Paris.*"[2]

The characters of the French piece are:

Le Général Morin
Amédée, son fils
Mme de Morin, belle-sœur du général
Mme Meunier, grand-mère
Joseph } ses petits enfans
Élise }
M. Bijot, vieil employé
Hilaire, valet de chambre du général
Deux Domestiques
La scène se passe à Paris

Without doubt Boucicault's adaptation is made from the play of Bayard and Vanderburch. The card containing the entry for

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[1] *Le Gamin de Paris*, comédie-vaudeville en deux actes, par MM. Bayard et E. Vanderburch; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, le 30 janvier 1836. Paris, 1836.

[2] Lenient, Vol. II, p. 170.

Andy Blake in the Library of Congress has this item: "Founded on *Le gamin de Paris, ou L'enfant de Geneviève*, par Mme Fanny Richomme." This entry is probably based on the information set forth on a playbill for November 10, 1854, which states that the play is "founded on the story of 'Gamin de Paris.'" An examination of Mme Richomme's sentimental short story proves that there is no connection between it and Boucicault's play. *Andy Blake*, moreover, follows very closely the French play.

Andy Blake was first played at the Boston Museum, Boston, March 1, 1854.[3] When it was presented at the Chestnut Street Theatre on April 12, 1854,[4] it was not the first time the play had been offered at the same house. On October 14, 1843, "*Le Gamin de Paris* (The Loafer of Paris)" had been presented in French by a French Opera Company which played *vaudevilles* on Tuesday and Thursday and opera the other nights of the week.[5] The presentation in French probably led to a translation, for the next year Mrs. Hunt at the Park Theatre, New York, "made the success also of a very indifferent piece—a poor transfer of the celebrated *Gamin de Paris*—in which she played the character of a young rascal with a very good heart."[6]

The title, *Andy Blake*, is, I believe, copied from the play, *Anne Blake*, by John W. Marston, which had been acted in England in 1852 before Boucicault came to this country. *Anne Blake* ran concurrently with Boucicault's play on the latter's first presentation in New York in October and November of 1854. Since Boucicault renamed all of the French characters, he probably took the name Blake from Marston's comedy. Since Anne is an orphan and something of a hoyden, she may have suggested a name for a male counterpart. The title, moreover, shifted with the country and became overseas *The Dublin Boy*.[7]

The characters are renamed as follows:

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[3] Playbill. Shaw Theatre Collection.
[4] *Public Ledger*, April 12, 1854.
[5] Durang, Third Series, Chapter 71.
[6] *The New Mirror*, III (1844), 106.
[7] Pascoe, p. 38.

Le Général Morin	General Daly
Amédée	Dick Daly
Mme de Morin	Lady Mountjoy
Mme Meunier	Mrs. Blake
Joseph	Andy
Élise	Mary
M. Bijot	Ignatius Mulvaney

Hilaire and the two domestics are dropped.

The adaptation belongs, like the original, to *the comédie larmoyante*. Andy, a mischievous boy who makes life miserable for his schoolmaster, is the son of a soldier who died in battle saving his commander's life and who left a letter to Andy enjoining upon him the duty of protecting the boy's sister, Mary. When Andy learns that Mary has been seduced and that her seducer is really Dick Daly, not Mr. Dick, as he has represented himself, he sets out to Dick's father, armed with his letter. General Daly agrees with Andy on the proposed amends by marriage, and the letter proves Andy the son of the soldier who has saved the General's life.

Boucicault follows the plot very closely. His work is saved from being a mere translation by the change which makes all the characters Irish instead of French. In doing this he alters the original speeches to an Irish stage brogue; but he did not need to invent the slap-stick comedy, which is in the original and which fitted in quite well with the conception of the stage Irishman accepted in 1854. He cuts the dialogue in one scene from twenty-seven speeches to five, and modifies the speeches of Andy in bringing his accusation of seduction so that he talks to the General rather than to the gallery gods. In effect, he makes Andy a more natural boy.

Janet Pride, which has not survived, had its first New York performance April 4, 1855.[8] The next day the following account appeared in the *Herald*: "It was first performed at the Metropolitan theatre, Buffalo, during the last summer season [August 11, 1854][9] but was not successful . . . next at London about

[8] Playbill. Burton's Theatre, April 4, 1855. Shaw Theatre Collection.
[9] Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, August 11, 1854.

two months ago [February 5, 1855.][10] The author of 'Janet Pride' has used the materials of several other people with the most charming *sang froid*, and has made an effective though heavy piece. The first act is from a drama called the 'Foundling of Paris'--a magazine story called 'Life in the Bush,' forms the materials for the second—in the third and fourth there is a little from the 'Somnambulist' and the bills informs us that the facts regarding mesmeric phenomena, illustrated in the third [fifth] act, are well known to the scientific world. Really, Mr. Boucicault should give us his 'authorities' in the shape of marginal notes, on the bills of the play." This last wish I could second.

The reviewer goes on to describe the plot as tortuous, involved, improbable, and unsatisfactory, and details the first act as follows: "Richard Pride, the principal character, is a gentleman addicted to brandy and water, forgery, robbery, murder, and other pleasant amusements. He steals his wife's savings—she puts her child in the box of the Foundling Hospital . . ." This evidence, together with that contained in the playbill, proves that Boucicault adapted *Marie-Jeanne* by Dennery and Mallian[11] for the first act of his two-act prologue. The best comment on the play is that of the reviewer, who incidentally gives a definition of melodrama: The effects and situations "seem to be forced in the old melodramatic style—people are put to a good deal of trouble for no good reason."

Marie-Jeanne had been adapted before Boucicault came to this country. An anonymous play, published by William V. Spencer in Boston in 1856, with a memoir of Mrs. Virginia Cunningham and entitled *Madelaine, the Belle of the Faubourg*, is a fairly literal translation of *Marie-Jeanne*. The adaptation is probably of English origin, for it was played "for the first time in America" at the Walnut Theatre, January 10, 1849, with the title *Madelaine; or, The Foundling of Paris*. The piece was played later with such sub-titles as *The Foundling of St. Gervais* and *The Orphan of Paris*.

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[10] Pascoe, p. 43.

[11] *Marie-Jeanne*, drame en cinq actes et six tableaux, par MM. Dennery et Mallian, musique de M. Pilati; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, le 11 novembre 1845. In *Magazin théâtral.*

The first performance of *Grimaldi; or, Scenes in the Life of an Actress* was presented at the National Theatre, Cincinnati, September 24, 1855.[12] The title of the published play is *Grimaldi; or, The Life of an Actress.* In its first Philadelphia performance, May 2, 1856, at the National Theatre, the title used was *Violet; or, The Life of an Actress.* The cast included Agnes Robertson as Violet, Boucicault as Grimaldi, and W. H. Bellamy as the Duke of Devonshire.[13] The New York performance was at Burton's the twenty-fourth of the same month.

The play is a melodrama. Lord Shafton befriends Violet, an orphaned street singer. Grimaldi, an old Neapolitan noble and a broken actor, takes her under his protection. After Julia, the reigning star, refuses to play for his benefit, he trains Violet to make her début as an actress. Although Lord Shafton loves Violet, he decides to give her up and go to the Crimean War with his regiment. Maltravers, however, kidnaps her after the first act of her successful *première* and takes her to his manor house. Wopshot, a comedian in love with her, Grimaldi, and Shafton follow and rescue her. After his duel with Maltravers, Lord Shafton marries Violet, who continues her stage career. Lord Shafton's mother denounces her at a garden party; but Grimaldi, who has known the countess as a girl, now confers nobility upon Violet by adopting her, and thus makes her the equal of her husband in social rank.

In writing his play, Boucicault adapted suggestions from *La Vie d'une Comédienne* by Anicet-Bourgeois and Théodore Barrière.[14] The French play is laid in the period of the French revolution. Olympe is a street singer and is trained for the stage under the tutelage of an old actor, Saint-Phar. Her stage success draws many suitors, among them Count Karl de Rudentz, who finally wins her hand. Karl's mother, the viscountess de Rudentz, refuses to recognize her daughter-in-law. There follows a period of social neglect leading to estrangement between

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[12] Cincinnati *Daily Enquirer*, September 23, 1855.
[13] *Public Ledger*, May 2, 1856.
[14] *La Vie d'une Comédienne*, drame en cinq actes, par MM. Anicet-Bourgeois et Théodore Barrière; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, le 22 mars 1854. Paris, s. d.

the newly wedded pair. During the Revolution, Olympe saves the mother-in-law from the guillotine, and is herself saved by a pardon, but only at the sacrifice of the life of Saint-Phar. This summary of the French play takes from a long list of characters[15] and a complicated plot only those people and events that are significant for a discussion of Boucicault's adaptation.

Boucicault advertised his play as "founded on events in the early career of Mlle Rachel and full of incidents taken from Theatrical History."[16] He may have taken hints from the life of Rachel and from his own observation, but he used the French play. The two plays have a common situation. A street singer is trained by an old actor, attracts through success on the stage a husband from the nobility, and suffers social ostracism as the result of a connection with the stage before she finally attains happiness. Besides the situation, Boucicault adapted certain characters. Olympe becomes Violet. As the different plots work out, we find that both heroines are poor street singers when their guardians take up the training designed to fit them for the stage. Both make their début in *Les Horaces* as Camille, a rôle, by the way, in which Rachel had made her New York début. This fact probably lent credence to Boucicault's advertisement. Both are the intended victims of abduction by the same means. In this feature of the plot Boucicault gets his hint for this third act, though in the original Olympe is saved by her maid's taking her place in the carriage. Finally, both heroines are disdained by the families into which they have married.

As to the other characters, Karl de Rudentz becomes Lord Shafton; the Viscountess de Rudentz, the Countess Beaumaris; and Saint-Phar, Grimaldi. In adapting his play Boucicault may have taken some hints from *Le Père de la Débutante* by Théaulon and Bayard in which play an old actor trains his daughter for the stage; but he owes the character of Grimaldi and the old actor's philosophy chiefly to Saint-Phar. The single verbal similarity of *Grimaldi* and *La Vie d'une Comédienne* is found in the speech of Saint-Phar, who, having come to secure Olympe

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[15] See *Appendix A.*, p. 126-127.

[16] Playbill. Wallack's Theatre, August 30, 1856. Shaw Theatre Collection.

for his benefit, is met with Karl's offer of a gift of money, and replies:

> Douze mille livres! Monsieur le comte, bien des pardons, mais nous autres comédiens nous avons aussi notre dignité, nous ne recevons que du public . . . il nous paye notre rire ou nos larmes, nous tâchons de lui en donner pour son argent; s'il est content, il nous donne encore des bravos par-dessus le marché, et tout le monde a son compte. Je prendrai les quinze sous que l'ouvrier viendra apporter au bureau, et ça ne m'humiliera pas; mais les douze mille livres que vous me donnerez comme ça de la main à la main, ça n'est pas de la location ça, c'est une aumône, et je n'en veux pas, monsieur le comte, je n'en veux pas.

It is to Julia that Grimaldi goes on the same errand, and when she offers him money, he scorns it:

> No,—Mademoiselle; no, I am artiste, not a beggar. We receive only from the publique—they come, they pay us for our tears—for our joy, and we do our best to satisfy zem. I shall take de six pence which de artisan pay at the door, it shall not humiliate me, but de ten pounds you give me, dat I shall not earn—'tis de alms of charity. Je le refuse.

The various changes in the title of the piece probably show that Boucicault played up Miss Robertson's popularity and then realized that the old actor should give his name to the play. The character of Grimaldi makes the play; the rest is the merest melodrama. Music, thunder, and lightning, a tree felled over the path to precipitate the pursuers down a cliff, the old crone who administers the opiate in the tea, the tears and pleading, and the rescue at the point of a pistol; all the third act is melodrama. The ending, with the old actor claiming his title, is a convention used scores of times. But Grimaldi is new. Boucicault was at home with him, for they both belonged to the stage. The playwright probably voices in this character something of his own attitude (for not all of Grimaldi is borrowed from Saint-Phar) toward the patronizing air assumed by society, toward newspaper puffery and advertising, and toward actors who are never taken seriously apart from their rôles. The French play undeniably has the better plot; the American, the keener resentment

against those who from social position condescend to the theatre.

One of Boucicault's plays which has not survived was announced in St. Louis as follows: "St. Louis Theatre. Monday Evening, Nov. 12th, [1855] will be presented first time in this city, an entirely new fairy feline farce, written expressly for Miss Agnes Robertson, & entitled The Cat Changed into a Woman."[17] While Boucicault's name is not mentioned, it is probable the "fairy feline farce" was from his pen.

The title, the characters, and comment on the St. Louis performance, all prove the source of this play. The title is that of the original French play, Scribe's *La Chatte métamorphosée en femme*.[18] The list of characters, too, proves it to have been drawn from this source. Of the characters Boucicault retained only the name of Minette, a part played by Miss Robertson to the delight of the *Republican* critic. Guido was renamed Karl, "a Pythogerean"; Dig-Dig became Puffuenbach; and Marianne, Bridget. The comment of the critic on the play, moreover, strengthens the belief that the play was drawn from Scribe. The critic notes, "The 'Cat Turned Into a Woman' is exceedingly droll and unlike anything we ever saw. The mischievous 'Puss', as given by Miss Robertson, is extremely funny . . . in the amusing sketch where the soul of her feline grace is supposed to have passed into the form of a woman without quite forsaking all the previous habits of mousing."[19] It may be accepted that the American farce was adapted from the *folie-vaudeville* by Scribe.

Boucicault produced When in New Orleans at the Gaiety Theatre on January 19, 1856,[20] *Azael, or the Prodigal*, an adaptation from Scribe's opera, *L'Enfant Prodigue*,[21] it was not the first

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[17] The Missouri *Republican*, November 12, 1855.

[18] *La Chatte métamorphosée en femme*, folie-vaudeville en un acte, par Eugène Scribe; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Gymnase dramatique, le 3 mars 1827. In *Théâtre* de M. Eugène Scribe, Paris, 1843, Vol. 7.

[19] The Missouri *Republican*, November 13, 15, 1855.

[20] New Orleans *Picayune*, January 20, 1856.

[21] *L'Enfant Prodigue*, opéra en cinq actes par Eugène Scribe; musique de D. F. E. Auber; représenté pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de l'Opéra, le 6 décembre 1850. In *Oeuvres Complètes* de Eugène Scribe. Paris, 1876.

time the piece had been played in America. *Azael, the Prodigal* "translated from the French by an American dramatist," was performed June 2, 1851, at the Broadway Theatre. At the Chestnut Street Theatre, February 24, 1853, *The Prodigal Son*, "translated from the French by M. C. P. W., . . . was produced with great beauty but it was a dead failure." "M. C. P. W." is identified as Charles P. Ware.[22] The last two may have been original adaptations, but more probably they derive from Fitzball's *Azael, The Prodigal.*[23] It should be noted, however, that the list of characters for the play produced at the Broadway Theatre omits four characters used by Fitzball. Of these four plays, only Fitzball's has survived.

A short contemporary summary of Boucicault's plot proves its source in *L'Enfant Prodigue.* "Azael (Boucicault) the son of Reuben, a Hebrew (Morton), is enticed from the simple tent life of his tribe by the Egyptians Amenophis (Thayer) and Nefte (Miss Jessie McLean). He goes to Memphis followed by Lia (Miss Robertson) disguised as a slave, who promises to watch over him and to guard him from the dangers to which he is about to be exposed. Arrived at Memphis, all the arts and blandishments which can be addressed to that end are used by the devotees of Isis to induce him to abjure his faith and become an idolator. He very nearly yields but is saved by Lia who reminds him of home and duty and at whose intercession, visions of the glorious fulfillment of the hope of Israel, in the sacrifice for sin, are shown him and he escapes the snare set for him. Impoverished and wretched the prodigal is thrust forth into the wilderness, and after a year of despair, he determines to return to his Father's tents and crave for pardon. The termination of the parable is familiar."[24]

While in England, Boucicault had produced at the Princess's Theatre, on June 14, 1852 a play called *The Vampire.*[25] This play, which has not survived, probably was revamped and called *The Phantom* when presented in America.

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[22] Durang, Third Series, Chapter 128.
[23] Fitzball, Edward, *Azael, The Prodigal.* (Drury Lane, London, February 19, 1851.) London, n. d.
[24] New Orleans *Picayune*, January 20, 1856.
[25] Walsh, p. 45.

The Phantom was first played at the National Theatre, Philadelphia, May 12, 1856. Boucicault played the part of "The Phantom," and Agnes Robertson that of Lucy Peveryl.[26] The play, published in the same year, offers a difficulty to the reader in that there is nothing in the printed stage directions to indicate a lapse of time between the first and second acts. The play should be read with the fact in mind that the first act has as its period the year 1660, and the second the year 1760.[27] If the play is read with this understanding, the reader is not dependent on the local allusions for the chronology of the acts.

Ten years before the action begins Alan Raby has killed his brother, Owen. The Cavalier party has taken vengeance by hurling Alan's body from the ruined castle, since which time as a vampire he has haunted the ruins. On the night the play opens a party gathers there seeking the lover of Lucy. Alan joins them, renews his life on the lover's blood, but is shot by Clavering as he returns from attacking Lucy. Complying with Alan's last request, Clavering carries his body to Snowden Mountain where it revives as the first rays of the moon strike it.

One hundred years later, Colonel Raby, a descendant of Owen, is coming back to the castle from Blenheim, where his companion-in-arms, Edgar, has been mysteriously saved from death by Rookwood. In their absence the Colonel's daughter has similarly been brought back from death. Rookwood now appears and, as Alan Raby, claims the estate and Ada. When Edgar and Dr. Reese show that the will on which he bases his claims is only five years old, and forbid the marriage, Alan challenges Edgar to a duel on Snowden Mountain. Before either duelist can move to fight, Dr. Reese has Alan shot down, having learned his true character as a vampire in books written by the Elizabethan, Dr. Dee. The body is then hurled down an abyss to save it from resuscitation by moonlight.

Boucicault probably drew his material from *Le Vampire* by Carmouche, de Jouffroy, and Charles Nodier.[28] In Paris the French

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[26] *Public Ledger*, May 12, 1856.

[27] Program, Wallack's Theatre, July 10, 1856. Shaw Theatre Collection.

[28] *Le Vampire*, mélodrame en trois actes avec un prologue, par Carmouche, de Jouffroy, et Ch. Nodier; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, le 13 juin 1820. Paris, 1820.

play met with a popular reception. Although it is described as a *mélodrame*, it represents the romance of the supernatural. Charles Nodier, one of the collaborators, it will be remembered, was one of the earliest of the romanticists and a predecessor of Hugo.

In England, J. R. Planché promptly adapted the play, and it was acted at the English Opera House, London, August 9, 1820 with T. S. Cooke in the leading rôle,[29] and at the Anthony Street Theatre in New York as early as October 22, 1820 under the title, *Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles*. Planche's *Vampire* follows the original with considerable fidelity, save for some omissions and the renaming of a few characters. The play continued to be staged for thirty years. According to an unnamed clipping in the Shaw Theatre Collection, dated May 25, 1901, Boucicault made his first appearance as an actor in London at the Princess's Theatre, June 14, 1852, in the after-piece called *The Vampire*. However, Boucicault's biographers do not accept this as the first appearance of the playwright.

The characters of the French play are as follows:

DANS LE PROLOGUE

Ituriel, ange de la Lune
Oscar, genie des Marriages
Un Vampire

DANS LE MÉLODRAME

Lord Ruthwen	Scop
Sir Aubray	Petterson
Malvina	Lovette
Brigitte	Oscar
Edgar	Domestiques et Villageois

The plays of the French collaborators, of Planché, and of Boucicault, all have the fundamental situation in common: a vampire haunts the world, living on the blood sucked from human beings and able to revive from a deadly wound when exposed

[29] Genest, Vol. IX, p. 124.

to the rays of the moon. Boucicault may have drawn this situation from either of the plays. Presumably he knew Planché's play. Certain minor details, such as the use of the poignard in the duel, may have been derived from either play. I believe he knew the French play because he takes one name, that of Edgar, from the list of characters. In Planché's play this character is named Robert. This similarity may be only a coincidence, but it indicates, I think, a knowledge of the French play. The original Sir Aubray may also have suggested to him the name Raby. It seems to have been his custom to go to the original French, even when an English version was already available.[30]

Boucicault begins by omitting the prologue, though it may have suggested the separation of his two acts by a hundred years and the appearance of the vampire in two incarnations, if vampires may be said to be incarnated. *The Phantom* has the merit of presenting action, such as the revival of the vampire under the rays of the moon, instead of merely relating it. He adds romantic settings by the use of ruined castles. He devises humor for his domestics. Counting against his dramatic construction are the old convention of a bogus will and the books written by Dr. Dee detailing how vampires are finally put to rest, this latter information having been given more subtley by the original prologue. As in *The Poor of New York*, he localizes the scene. Despite these improvements the play does not merit the encomium of the playbill an "extraordinary poetic and intellectual creation."

Boucicault's next adaptation closes with a more than usually clever appeal to the audience. Revel says: "Ladies and gentlemen: I owe it to myself to inform you that my present financial crisis is not owing to any fault of mine—I accepted the paper of two friends; they are the authors of this state of things— . . . I promise you that in the newspapers tomorrow you will see their conduct exposed in true light—an audacious robbery." The paper referred to is the play, *Wanted—A Widow, with*

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[30] See the subsequent discussion of *Wanted—A Widow*, *The Poor of New York*, and *The O'Dowd*.

immediate possession. The two friends of the actor are Boucicault and Charles Seymour. The robbery they admit is taking the play from *Monsieur Jovial.*[31] The robbery which they did not confess is the use of *Touch and Take; or, Saturday Night and Monday Morning,*[32] an anonymous play and an English adaptation of *Monsieur Jovial.*

The characters of the French, the anonymous, and the American plays are as follows:

Jovial, huissier	Jolly	Clinch Merryweather
Saint-Leon, jeune homme à la mode	St. Lawrence	Harry Revel
Ducroise, tapissier	Man	Brads
Vincent, garçon restaurateur	Christopher	Waiter
Élise d'Albi	Lady Aubrey	Lady Blanch Mountjoy
Cécile, son amie, jeune veuve	Cecille	Mrs. Lovebird
Justine, femme de chambre	Maria	Mary
Recors, promeneurs, invités	Bailiffs	Croker, Jane
La scène est à Paris et près de Montmorency		
Scene—Richmond		Place—Nowhere in particular

Wanted—A Widow is a farce. Revel, in financial difficulties and pursued by sheriffs, advertises for a wife. While waiting a reply, he poses at a hotel as his own servant, and as a servant he wins his dinner, his freedom, and part of the fee from the sheriff sent to arrest him. During this diversion, he gets an answer to his matrimonial advertisement from a rich widow, Blanche, and also meets a former sweetheart, Amy, who pretends she is poor in order to test his love. Knowing he can save Amy from poverty by marrying Blanche, Revel escapes the sheriff and goes to Blanche's home. The sheriff follows and arrests him, but consents to hold Revel with a rope concealed under the table while the latter proposes. Amy, who overhears this proposal made under difficulties, is mollified only by a confession of his real reasons.

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[31] *Monsieur Jovial, ou l'huissier chansonnier*, comédie-vaudeville en deux actes, par MM. Théaulon et Choquart: représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre des Nouveautés, le 5 mai 1827. Paris, 1828.

[32] In "Preface" of Cyril Turner's *White Lies*, New York, [1858], pp. III–IV.

This play, "trash as it was," charges Cyril Turner, "and speedily dropped from the stage—was taken from an English play, entitled 'Touch and Take', which had been altered from the French." He is right as far as he goes; but Boucicault and Seymour had *Monsieur Jovial* before them as well as the English play. From the original they take Ducroisé, *tapissier*, and make him Brads, an upholsterer. In the English play he is simply "Man on steps fixing the bell rope." They refer to a period of six years separating the lovers, a bit of dialogue in the French play but not in the English. The use of a matrimonial agency is very clear in *Monsieur Jovial;* and Revel advertises for a wife in *Wanted—A Widow*. In the English play the idea of solving St. Lawrence's financial difficulties by marriage originates with his chief creditor, who writes him of Lady Aubrey. The invention of the character, Croker, who dines with Revel and Merryweather, may have been stimulated by the presence of a *garde de commerce* who in the French play sits at the table, but who, unlike Croker, contributes nothing to the conversation.

The evidence for the use of the English play is not so conclusive, but on the whole a satisfactory case can be made out. There is no evidence as before from the list of characters, unless Maria suggested Mary, and that is hardly probable. There are no verbal similarities existing between the English and American plays that are not in the French. Boucicault and Seymour translate so freely that they may be said to translate ideas rather than sentences. There is, however, a good deal of punning and word play in the anonymous play that is not in the French; and the American playwrights use these aids to humor in the same situations as the English writer. Not in the French but in the English play is a bet which Saint Lawrence makes with the bailiff and wins. In all probability this addition gave Boucicault and Seymour the idea of having Revel take one-half the fee for assisting in his own capture. It is reasonable to conclude that the American adapters used both the French play and the English adaptation.

The American play has some changes of its own and drops all the songs of the *huissier chansonnier*. The play is not "trash" as Turner claimed, when it is compared with the others; however,

it deserves nothing better than the term trifle. It was first played at Wallack's Theatre, November 9, 1857.[33]

Four weeks later, Boucicault offered to the audiences at Wallack's Theatre a play adapted from *Les Pauvres de Paris* by Brisebarre and Nus.[34] It is called *The Poor of New York*. Except in Boston the play when repeated has taken its name from the city in which it was being produced. *The Streets of Philadelphia*, *The Streets of London*, and *The Poor of Liverpool*, all go back to the same play, though evidently localized to the city where produced. In Boston the play was disguised in title, appearing on December 30, 1857 as *The Money Panic of '57*, and two years later as *The Upper Ten and Lower Twenty*.[35] Boston, it may be, is sensitive about its streets and poor. The play appears also in the annals of the German theatre in New York in 1868 as *Die Armen und die Reichen von New York*.[36]

At first the intention must have been to shroud the authorship of the play in mystery, for the title page of the book and the playbills of the second performance bear the following: "*The Poor of New York*, . . . by the ****Club." The mystery was revealed when the authors took a benefit on the occasion of the thirty-seventh performance. It became known then that the four asterisks stood for the names of Boucicualt, Seymour, Goodrich, and Warden.[37] Goodrich and Warden have been mentioned as the adapters of Feuillet's *La Clef d'Or;* and Seymour has just been considered in his collaboration with Boucicault on *Wanted—A Widow*. What part each of the four contributed to *The Poor of New York* may never be known; but it is to be inferred from the preeminence of Boucicault's ability as a playwright and from the fact that the copyright was entered in his name, that the major share in the collaboration was his.

The characters of the French play follow:

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[33] New York *Herald*, November 9, 1857.

[34] *Les Pauvres de Paris*, drame en sept actes, par MM. Edouard Brisebarre et Eugène Nus; représenté pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, le 5 septembre 1856. Paris, nouvelle édition, s. d.

[35] Tompkins and Kilby, pp. 63, 76.

[36] Leuchs, p. 218.

[37] Playbill, Wallack's Theatre, January 18, 1858. Shaw Theatre Collection.

Pierre Bernier	Un Agent
André Bernier	Un Facteur
Planterose	Un Voyageur
Villebrun	Madame Bernier
Fabien de Roquefeuil	Antionette
Joubert	Reine Bigot
Bigot	Claudette
Joseph	Alida Villebrun
Un Commissionnaire	Une Fruitière

Un Employé

Passants, voyageurs, voyageuses, commissionnaires, témoins

La scène se passe en 1840. Au premier acte, à Bordeaux chez Villebrun. Les autres suivants se passent à Paris en 1855.

In the adaptation the Berniers become Fairweathers; the Villebruns, Bloodgoods; the Bigots, the Puffys. De Roquefeuil becomes Livingstone; Planterose, Badger. Joubert is dropped.

It is a play "où la misère en habit noir est peinte avec une âpreté sauvage . . ."[38] In the American plot, Badger is the only witness to the deposit of one hundred thousand dollars by Captain Fairweather in the bank controlled by Bloodgood. When the Captain, learning that the bank is failing, returns for his money, he is refused and dies of apoplexy while attacking Bloodgood. Twenty years later during the panic of 1857, Bloodgood finds himself wealthy from the investment of his stolen money. The Fairweathers suffer from the extremes of poverty. They are evicted from their home and forced to live in a tenement. Poverty leads them to begging and even to an attempt at suicide. To save the Fairweather family, Livingstone, who loves Lucy, determines to sell his name and social position to Alida Bloodgood in marriage. Bloodgood, now being hounded by Badger, who holds the receipt of the original deposit, resorts to threats, imprisonment, and arson without success. When Badger finally restores the receipt to Paul Fairweather, justice and happiness are meted out according to stage custom.

The French play is made thoroughly American. There is a scene outside the Academy of Music, and directions are given in

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[38] Royer, Vol. 5, p. 420.

terms of New York streets. There are references to the panic of 1857 and to the gold rush and vigilance committees in California. There is also more brandishing of knives and guns than in the original. The first four acts are followed fairly closely; then the adapters depart from the original to represent the burning of Badger's lodging. The last scene, also, is changed and takes place in the palatial home of Bloodgood instead of in the city-hall; and thus the Fairweathers inherit their money in a setting suitably contrasted with their former poverty. Changed, too, at the end is the action; and the villain Bloodgood, instead of being led away to prison, is forgiven because he loves his daughter, Alida, a love which is a trifle strange considering that the adapters alter her character to make her more hateful than she is in the French play.

The play was popular. In a year in which the country was stricken by a panic, audiences assembled to witness virtuous poverty rewarded on the stage. The plot of this lurid melodrama retained sufficient of the original sentimentality to appeal to the masses. The novelty of the stage settings doubtless helped the popular appeal. One setting was divided to show the room of the Fairweathers and that of Badger. And always, of course, there was the fire in the fifth act.

The play of the "****Club" was first presented at Wallack's Theatre, December 7, 1857.[39] Some six months before at Barnum's Museum,[40] the English playwright, Sterling Coyne, had presented a version of the French original under the title, *Fraud and Its Victims*.[41] It is impossible that the four collaborators did not know this work. Probably its performance gave them the idea for their own adaptation. There is no evidence that any of the four ever saw Coyne's play in print. There is nothing in language and situation common to the American and English plays that is not also common to the French. It is impossible to find any close verbal similarities that cannot be explained by

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[39] New York *Herald*, December 7, 1857.
[40] New York *Herald*, May 28, 1857.
[41] Coyne, J. Sterling, *Fraud and Its Victims*, a drama in four acts, preceded by a prologue, adapted from the French *Les Pauvres de Paris*. (Surrey Theatre, London, March 2, 1857.) Boston, n. d.

the French. Each has features not to be found in the other or in the French original. Where they both follow the French language, the American rendering is almost always closer to the original than the English. On the other hand, there is proof that the four adapters used the French play and not Coyne's. They take the name, Alida, from the French; Coyne calls her Isabelle. Frequently in the dialogue they follow the language of the original where Coyne merely paraphrases the sense. It is as though Boucicault, Seymour, Goodrich, and Warden had anticipated the charge of piracy and had prepared against it by both following closely and inventing daringly.

Boucicault had two adaptations from the French presented in 1858. The first, produced at Niblo's Garden on October 4, is *Pauvrette.* It is taken from *La Bergère des Alpes* by Desnoyer and Dennery,[42] in which Mme. Naptal-Arnault played the part of Pauvrette in France and Agnes Robertson in America.

The characters of the French play are as follows:

Le Capitaine Duclos
Jean Maurice, vieux soldat
Fernand, petit-fils de la Duchesse et cousin de Léonide
Un Vieillard de Saint-Didier
Martin, aubergiste
François, laquais
Jerome, id.
Troisième Laquais
Le Guide
La Duchesse de Château-Gontier
Léonide, sa petite-fille
Hortensia, femme de charge
Pauvrette, chevrière
Thérèse, femme de Martin
Paysans, paysannes, une femme de chambre

In the American adaptation Pauvrette, Martin, and Thérèse retain their original names. Hortensia is dropped; Marie is

[42] *La Bergère des Alpes*, drame en cinq actes, par MM. Ch. Desnoyer et Ad. Dennery; représenté pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de la Gaîté, le 31 octobre 1852. Paris, nouvelle édition, s. d.

added. Duclos becomes Michel; Maurice, Bernard; Fernand, Count Maurice; the Duchess de Château-Gontier, the Duchess de Beaulieu; and Léonide becomes Louise. Because of other changes by Boucicault, the characters do not all sustain the same relationship to one another in the adaptation as in the original.

The first act of this melodrama is the invention of Boucicault. On the retreat from Moscow, Bernard and Marie are taking care of two baby girls, their own and the child of Colonel Lafère. The Colonel's wife, a duchess, appears and demands her own daughter. She cannot identify her; and in the excitement of the escape Michel, the drummer boy, bears off her child. Believing the one left to be her own daughter, the Duchess takes the child of Bernard and Marie, which has, however, been marked on the ear by a bullet for identification in the fifth act. From this point on, Boucicault follows the French play. Pauvrette, child of the Duchess, grows up as a shepherdess, spending her winters in a cave in the Alps tending the sheep. In this retreat, cut off by the avalanche, Count Maurice spends three months alone with her. Seduction makes impossible his marriage with Louise, whom the Duchess thinks her own child. Eventually the ear is disclosed, identifications are made, and the four lovers find their real mates.

Despite his addition of an entire act, Boucicault condenses the action of the original by cutting some of the longer speeches and by eliminating much of the sentimentality. He drops a very sentimental and tear-provoking scene by passing over in silence the recovery of Léonide from death. Almost every character in the French play is described at one time or another as *pleurant*. The ending of the play is obvious from the start; but Boucicault concludes his fourth act in a theatrically effective manner that sustains suspense. Boucicault found in the original some sentiments acceptable in a democracy, and he points these sentiments with humor. Most of these speeches are put in the mouth of Michel, and they must have endeared this character to republican hearts. The part is a good one, for Michel's wit of American paternity acts as a foil to the aristocratic pride of the Duchess; and Michel doubtless won the sympathy of the audience by his bluff soldierly qualities at

the expense of Maurice, the leading rôle, who had seduced Pauvrette.

The play is not a good melodrama. There are certain inconsistencies, such as the striking resemblance of Pauvrette to her mother passing unnoticed. There are certain awkwardnesses in construction, such as the obvious display of plebeian blood in Louise, the foreshadowing, and motivation. The method of identification is trite; and sentimentality is still rife. Despite these blemishes, the play met with sufficiently warm reception to warrant printing the favorable press reviews in a special program.[43] These reviews point out the merits of the adaptation. They mention the "grand scenic effects with powerful interest," and praise Miss Robertson's acting in the rôle of Pauvrette, a part in which "mingled simplicity and pathos were well expressed."

The other adaptation which Boucicault made in 1858 is *The Pope of Rome*, performed on October 27, at Niblo's Gardens. It is interesting not only as his most lurid melodrama but also as proof that in revising his earlier work he was able to improve it. *The Pope of Rome* is once removed from the original French play, *L'Abbaye de Castro* by Dinaux and Lemoine.[44] The intervening play is *The Broken Vow* by Boucicault and John Bridgeman.[45] The latter play, written and produced in England before Boucicault first came to the United States, is the direct source of the American play.

Before the action of *The Pope of Rome* begins in the sixteenth century, Cardinal Montalto's brother, a revolutionist, has been killed by the Colonna family. His nephew, Adrian Peretti, is reared in ignorance of his true name and heritage. When Adrian dares to love Bianca Colonna, he is spurned by her family. Hugo, a soldier of fortune, reveals his identity to Adrian; and the two go together to demand Bianca's hand. During the feud

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[43] Playbill. Niblo's Garden, October 5, 1858. Shaw Theatre Collection.

[44] *L'Abbaye de Castro*, drame en cinq actes, par P. Dinaux et Gustave Lemoine; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, le 4 avril 1840. Paris, s. d.

[45] *A Romance in the Life of Sixtus the Fifth, entitled The Broken Vow*, in five acts and seven tableaux, by Dion Boucicault and John Bridgeman. (Royal Olympic Theatre, February 17, 1851.) London, 1851.

which promptly breaks out, Adrian and Bianca are married by Anselmo, who dares to defy the Colonna and who is really Cardinal Montalto. Under the belief that Adrian is dead, Bianca is forced into a convent and is in the act of taking her vows when the ceremony is interrupted by Hugo and Adrian. Hugo as a prisoner in the convent furnishes the lovers with the means of communication. In a scene reminiscent of *Romeo and Juliet*, Adrian makes his way to the vault where the drugged Bianca is about to be buried alive. At the moment of their being discovered, Cardinal Montalto receives word that he has been elected pope. The lovers have nothing more to fear.

The characters of the French play are:

Jules Brachioforte
Le Capitaine Ranuccio
Le Cardinal Montalte
Le Comte Campireali
Fabio, son fils
Ugone, chef de bravi
Le Gouveneur de Rome
Le Prieur du Monte-Cavi
Sciotti, hôtellier
Un Chef de Bravi
Mario
Premier Bravi
Luidgi, Matteo } valets du Comte
La Comtesse Campireali
Hélène, sa fille
L'Abbesse de Castro
La Supérieure du couvent de l'Ave-Maria
La Directrice de l'abbaye de Castro
Margarita, gouvernante de Jules
La Tourière de l'abbaye de Castro
Une Religieuse de l'abbaye de Castro
Trois Parens du Comte Campireali
Bravi
Religieuses
Sbires
Paysans

In *The Broken Vow*, Boucicault and Bridgeman change the name of Jules Brachioforte to Adrian Peretti; Ranuccio to Hugo; Campireali to Colonna; Hélène to Bianca; and Sciotti to Matteo. The *bravi* are named. Margarita changes sex to become Beppo; and all but two of the members of the convents are dropped. In later revising his own work, Boucicault retains the list as originally adapted, except for some minor characters.

The Broken Vow follows the text of *L'Abbaye de Castro* with but few changes, and these are mostly unimportant. One change is designed to add to the pathos. When the Countess Colonna must make a decision as to whether or not she will disclose the

hiding place of Adrian, whom she believes to be her son's murderer and whom she knows to be her daughter's lover, Boucicault and Bridgeman insert a stage direction to the effect that the body of the son is to be carried across the stage. Another of the added stage directions calls for a spectacular effect, and full details are given for a religious processional and service. The rendering of the language is without very much deviation.

There is no evidence that Boucicault, when he adapted *The Pope of Rome* from *The Broken Vow*, had a copy of the French play before him. Where the American version departs from the English, it is not to follow the original French play but to take a new direction of its own. He makes numerous changes, some of which are important.

The change in the title is probably made to disguise an old play; but it is not without significance. Possibly to justify the use of the title, Montalto from the very beginning plays a larger part in the plot. His identity as Father Anselmo is revealed at once to Hugo and the audience, though kept from the other characters. In the *Broken Vow*, as in the French play, his identity is used for suspense in a fifth act that drags. He is made more crafty and affects much more feeble health. Another character, Hugo, is also altered, chiefly in speech. The alteration renders his language less dignified than in the English play but puts it more in the idiom of a swashbuckling soldier of fortune. Boucicault does not appear in the cast of the original London production, but he played the part of Hugo in America. It may be that he assured success for the part by rewriting quite a few of his speeches.

Some of the omissions are significant. There is evidence of a desire to heighten the effect of enmity between the Peretti and the Colonna families by omitting references to the Orsini. Omitted, too, are Colonna's death and the anguishing interviews in which he finally forces his daughter into a convent; and there is nothing of the hard lot of the Countess Colonna. The important omission is that of the fifth act of the original. In *The Broken Vow* the fourth act ends, not with the discovery of Bianca in the burial vault and the election of Montalto as pope, but with the recapture of Bianca by the dreaded abbess. Accordingly, the

fifth act simply repeats the struggles of the fourth and for a time postpones the inevitable. In his later adaptation Boucicault combines the climaxes of the two acts into one crescendo of melodramatic action.

The play is a spectacular melodrama. It promised as much in its advertising. "Seventy auxiliaries, both ladies and gentlemen, have been added to the company, and will realize some of the most superb living pictures ever beheld on any stage."[46] This is not far removed from modern moving picture announcements. While I hold no brief for this play as a play, it does show that Boucicault could better his own adaptations in construction and in dialogue.

It has been thought that Boucicault adapted a French play, *Le Marchand d'Enfants*, and that this French play had in its turn been drawn from Dickens' *The Cricket on the Hearth*.[47] Apparently, however, Boucicault adapted his play, *Dot*, directly from the English story.

During the years from 1844 to 1848 Boucicault lived in Paris, and may not have been familiar with the thirteen adaptations of *The Cricket on the Hearth* that were offered at various London theatres beginning with Albert Smith's authorized adaptation December 20, 1845 and ending with Blanchard's burlesque some three weeks later.[48] On the French stage an adaptation of this play was made by Mélesville and Guillard under the title *Le Marchand de jouets d'enfant*,[49] and presented April 10, 1848, while Boucicault was still in Paris.

The piece had the following cast:

Plummer, ancien négociant.....M. Numa
Gabrielle, sa fille (aveugle).....Mme Rose Chéri
Albert.....M. Deschamps
Mackensie, propriétaire.....M. Landrol
Lucy, soeur de lait de Gabrielle.....Mlle Anna Chéri
Ouvriers, tapissiers

La scène est à Londres, dans un quartier de la Cité

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[46] New York *Herald*, October 27, 1858.
[47] Clapp, J. B. and Edgett, E. F., *Plays of the Present*, pp. 73–74.
[48] Adams, pp. 353–354.
[49] *Le Marchand de jouets d'enfant*, comédie-vaudeville en un acte, par MM. Mélesville [Duveyrier] et Léon Guillard; représentée, pourl a première fois, sur le théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, le 10 avril 1848. Paris, 1853.

The plot is this. To spare his blind daughter, Gabrielle, discomfort and humiliation, Plummer builds up an elaborate fiction that he is wealthy and that their home is richly furnished. He succeeds with the aid of Lucy, the foster sister, in deceiving Gabrielle; and the blind girl does not know that her father makes and sells toys for their living. When Albert appears and proposes a partnership, Plummer accepts the offer because he needs help and because he is won by the quick understanding with which Albert grasps the family fiction. Lucy sees in him a lover, but almost at once sacrifices her claim for the sake of her blind sister. The delusion of wealth is broken when Mackensie, the landlord, demands his rent. Through her sense of touch Gabrielle discovers the poverty of her surroundings. Albert, who is wealthy, restores her illusions by supplying rich furnishings. With the promise of a surgeon that Gabrielle's sight can be restored, the curtain descends on the happy lovers.

Obviously this is not the source of Boucicault's *Dot.* His play follows Dickens' story and adds a prologue. He may have adapted this play from Mélesville and Guillard, and later, on learning of Dickens' story, made his present adaptation. The copy of *Dot* in the New York Public Library is the same as that in the Clothier Collection in the University of Pennsylvania. No adaptation of *Le Marchand de jouets d'enfant* by Boucicault has as yet come to light.

An error exists in the date, place, and cast of the performance of Smith's *The Cricket on the Hearth.*[50] The date is given as September 14, 1859, and the place of performance as the Winter Garden Theatre. Playbills and contemporary newspapers both agree that these are the date and place of the first production of Boucicault's *Dot.* The cast in the book of Smith's play is the same as that which performed in Boucicault's play. Evidently by mistake the date, theatre, and cast of Boucicault's play were copied by Smith's publishers.

The play which followed *Dot* in 1859 at the Winter Garden, was announced as follows:

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[50] Smith, Albert, *The Cricket on the Hearth,* Clyde, Ohio, n. d.

This establishment has been newly constructed and decorated from plans and designs furnished by Mr. Dion Boucicault. This evening Wednesday, Oct. 19, will be produced a new musical, fantastic, historical piece of extravagance called

CHAMOONI III

Representing the adventures of three unfortunate Americans cast away upon an unknown shore.

Time, This Evening—Scene, On the Stage.

Characters

Chamooni the Third.....Mr. Pearson
Autocrat of all the Mozambiques.

Harico.....Mr. Geo. Holland
His Mandarin.

Jamaica Gravesend.....Miss A. Robertson
From New York, an operator on the sewing machine, a young person of great enterprise.

Yonkers.....Mr. Jefferson
A kerbstone operator, late of William Street, N. Y., but now on a speculative trip to Shanghae.

Cattaraugus Gravesend.....Mr. T. B. Johnston
His late partner, an ardent, but weak admirer of Mr. Yonker's abilities.

Zemzem	Wives of Chamooni.....	Miss Clinton
Lulu		Miss Fielding
Mishmish		Miss Burke
Koo-koo		Miss Secor
Hooz-kooz		Miss Denham
Weeneal		Miss Gimber
Kisskiss		Miss Morton
Oma-e-took		Miss Tuomy
Toot-o-mae		Miss Walters

Scene "The Celestial Gardens" from a sketch on the spot ..... by ..... Mr. Hayes. Chorus, "Yonder in extremis lying."—Jamaica accepts with philosophy her bloomers and cap, but objects to lose her head—The Death of the Premier of the Mozambiques—Terror of the Minister, Harico—Who shall inform the Shah—The Opinion of the Ladies of Mozambique upon the geographical position of America—They settle the question—The procession of the Corpus—Song—Jamaica—Recollections of

Gotham—The arrival of the American Embassy in the Celestial Gardens—Utter ignorance of the people of all diplomatic etiquette—The Envoys learn the only condition on which they may be admitted to trade—Acceptance of the terms—Terrible condition of the Travellers—They prepare to die, like true Americans—They postpone the inconvenience—Yonkers resolves to Meet and Defeat the College of Mandarins—Song—Medley—Yonkers—Entrance of the Shah—His reception of the Mission—The Arkansas traveller—A "Bar"—The Magnificent performance of Cattaraugus—His first appearance in the part, but not his first in the character—Triumph of the strangers—Solo on the Accordeon—"Jordan."

POLKA ROWDYOVA.....Jamaica and Cattaraugus

Mashallah! The Shah has an idea, in which Cattaraugus does not coincide—Vamos—The Fete-Song, "I'm monarch here," by the Shah—The incarcerution of Cattaraugus—Duet between two cages, "Oh don't despair," Don Pasquale. The terrible appearance of the rival minister—Two heads better than one—The conspiracy to take the Shah's head—Arrival of his truculency—Fearful condition of the ministry—Yonkers is put to it—He accounts philosophically for the condition of his party—It won't do—Despair of Jamaica—The heads of the offenders are laid at the Shah's feet. Superb conclusion.

THE FETE IN THE CELESTIAL GARDENS.[51]

Chamooni III has not survived and, because of its ephemeral character, may never have been printed. A contemporary review praises the "superb scenery and costumes" and the clever acting of Jefferson, Johnston, and Miss Robertson but finds that "the play has little or no merits of its own."[52]

The characters of *Chamooni III* and the extended summary of its plot both prove that it was derived from Scribe's *L'Ours et le Pacha*.[53] The characters were renamed. Schahabaham, the shah, becomes Chamooni III; the Shah's prime minister, Marécot, becomes Harico. Tristapatte is renamed Cattaraugus Gravesend and Roxelane, Jamaica Gravesend. The relationship of husband and wife is the same in both plays. The other male traveller is Yonkers, the Lagingeole of the original play.

The plots are the same. Finding upon his arrival at the court

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[51] Playbill, Winter Garden, October 19, 1859. Shaw Theatre Collection.

[52] New York *Herald*, October 20, 1859.

[53] *L'Ours et le Pacha*, folie-vaudeville en un acte, par Eugène Scribe; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre des Variétés, le 10 février 1820. In *Théâtre* de M. Eugène Scribe, Paris, 1843.

of Schahabaham that the favorite bear of the menagerie has died, Lagingeole persuades Tristapatte to disguise himself as a performing bear. Tristapatte consents because in this disguise he can communicate with his wife, Roxelane, held prisoner in the harem. When the Shah demands that the black bear dance with the white bear, Lagingeole dresses up Marécot for the part. The two "bears" by mistake exchange heads, but Lagingeole attempts an explanation. Displeased, the Shah demands the heads of the bears; and both rush to kneel at his throne with their disguises held aloft. From the summary in the playbill it is obvious that the American play has some additions, and some of these may have been suggested by Perry's experience in opening Japan six years before the play was produced.

The play is probably Boucicault's. Ireland[54] credits the play to him, and so does Walsh.[55] There is also other evidence that would agree with this inference. When the Metropolitan Theatre had been refurnished in the fall of 1859, it opened as the Winter Garden. The first piece to be produced was Boucicault's *Dot.* Then followed *Chamooni III*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, and *The Octoroon.* All of these pieces except *Chamooni III* are acknowledged as Boucicault's. It is probable that Boucicault supplied the Winter Garden with all the plays produced from September 14 to December 10, when he withdrew, and that he wrote, or had a part in writing, *Chamooni III.* It must not be overlooked, however, that his name does not appear as the author in the announcement of the play, in the playbill, or in the subsequent reviews. It may be that he considered the piece too trifling to claim.

Les Crochets du Père Martin[56] was presented at the Walnut Street Theatre by the Compagnie Français de New York in 1860,[57] some thirteen years before Boucicault adapted it as *Daddy O'Dowd; or, Turn About is Fair Play* for Booth's Theatre, New York, March 17, 1873. Boucicault's adaptation

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[54] *Records of the New York Stage*, Vol. II, p. 700.
[55] *The Career of Dion Boucicault*, pp. 62–63.
[56] *Les Crochets du Père Martin*, drame en trois actes, par E. Cormon et E. Grangé; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de la Gaîté, le 3 août 1858. Paris, nouvelle édition, s. d.
[57] *Public Ledger*, April 11, 1860.

presents another illustration of his ability to better a first adaptation.

The French characters are these:

Le Père Martin	Un Matelot
Armand Martin, son fils	Un Garçon d'Hôtel
Félicien, ami d'Armand	Le Marquis
Charançon	Geneviève, femme de Martin
Laurent, domestique d'Armand	Amélie, leur fileulle
Le Capitaine Dubourg	Olympia
Le Vicomte	Georgina
Bastien, jardinier	Pampette
Gérard, pilote	Célina

Deux, amis, garçons de restaurant, hommes du chemin de fer, voyageurs, commissionnaires, bourgeoises

Boucicault's play, subsequently printed under the title, *The O'Dowd*, shows that these characters have been made Celts. The Martins become O'Dowds; Armand becomes Mike and has an alias, Percy Walsingham; Geneviève becomes Bridget; and Amelie, Kitty M'Coul. Charançon is renamed Romsey Leake; and Félicien is retained in part as Bertie Talboys. The remaining female characters are partly suggested by the original, since they figure in a fête. The other Irish characters are the invention of Boucicault.

In *The O'Dowd* Boucicault keeps the central idea of a father sacrificing himself to save a prodigal son. To recoup the money which the son has squandered, the father returns to the occupation by which he has built up his fortune. Boucicault retains, too, the idea of concealing the son's disgrace from his mother.

He does, however, make a number of important changes. The first act of the original, in which the prodigal is visited by his father and fiancée, who are made the laughing stock of his friends, is expanded into two acts, modified, and made into good comedy by Boucicault. The second act of the original contributes to Boucicault's third act only the disclosure of the son's indebtedness and the concealment of his shame from his mother, leaving to Boucicault's invention the Irish election and the manner in which quarreling Irishmen resent the interference of outsiders

who are common enemies. The fourth act of Boucicault's play, the last of the original, is practically his own. The French play discloses how Armand for a month after the death of all the crew except the captain had piloted the ship home to the harbor where the pilot brings it safely to port. Armand is then suitably rewarded by the owners of the vessel. Boucicault with a fine sense of things theatrical discards the feat of a month, which is simply related, and makes Mike the pilot who goes out to rescue the foundering ship and his share of the fortune Talboys is bringing back. By this act of heroism he not only retrieves his fortune already won in America, but also restores his father's reason. Mike's return is thus made much more dramatic.

Boucicault also changes the character of Martin by making the Havre porter a Celtic fisherman who by his toil wins back his ancestral estates. Martin has no great dignity, and one does not feel his overthrow as the fall of a soul inherently great. O'Dowd, in the adaptation, is a man of heroic quality. With his pride in his son he combines a pride in his race. His overthrow is made more poignant by the loss of his reason, and the tragedy of the father of the prodigal son is clear to all.

Boucicault's play was first performed under the title, *Daddy O'Dowd; or, Turn About is Fair Play*, and later published as *The O'Dowd*. It is clear from announcements and reviews[58] of the first performance that the latter is an adaptation of the former. The comparisons thus far presented have been based on the published play, since the original adaptation has not survived. *Daddy O'Dowd* was, however, much closer to the French play.

Like the French play, *Daddy O'Dowd* was one of three acts instead of four. It retained Dubourg as Captain Forrester, and accordingly must have followed the second act of the original. It changed the lovers about, awarding Lady Gwendoline (evidently the Lady Rose Lawless of *The O'Dowd*) to young O'Dowd and Kitty O'Dowd (Kitty M'Coul) to the "son's friend" (Talboys). Finally *Daddy O'Dowd* did not have the later finely conceived idea of presenting on the stage the saving of the wreck;

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[58] New York *Times*, March 17–19, 1873; New York *Herald*, March 18 1873; undated and unnamed clipping in Shaw Theatre Collection.

instead, the son saved the vessel on which he had embarked and was rewarded by the owners, as in the French play. In *The O'Dowd* then, we have a play offering proof once more that Boucicault was capable of improving his own adaptations.

The reception of the play as originally conceived was not flattering. The critic of the New York *Herald* wrote: "The piece is undoubtedly new so far as the title goes, but the situations, the sentiment, the treatment of the characters, and, here and there, even scraps and fragments of dialogue, suggest to a veteran playgoer memories more or less vague of something he has seen and heard before."

In reporting the cast for the first night Brown[59] makes the mistake of ascribing the character of O'Dowd to Joseph Wheelock who really played the part of the son; Boucicault, himself, appeared as Daddy O'Dowd.

The Library of Congress entry for *The O'Dowd* reads: "Sort of an Irish version of *The Porter's Knot*,[60] J. Oxenford's adaptation of *Les crochets du Père Martin* by Cormon and Grangé, 1858." Oxenford simply omits the first act of the French play and with some slight changes makes a translation of the two remaining acts. It is a "serio-comic" drama, while Boucicault's is a fair attempt at tragi-comedy. Boucicault may have known *The Porter's Knot* and may even have used it in adapting *Daddy O'Dowd*. But it is impossible to find in *The O'Dowd*, his published revision, any likeness to Oxenford's play that cannot also be traced to the French source. That he did know the French original is proved by his use of its first act, which he expanded into two. Since Boucicault improvises rather than translates, it is impossible to find a verbal similarity closer than the following:

Charançon: Paris est une ville magnifique! C'est, sans contredit, la capitale du monde aimable et spirituel. Mais quel gouffre, Monsieur, quel

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[59] *A History of the New York Stage*, Vol. III, p. 101.

[60] *The Porter's Knot*, a serio-comic drama in two acts by John Oxenford. (Royal Olympic Theatre, December 2, 1858.) In *The Amateur Theatre*, London, n. d., Vol. XIII.

gouffre! C'est un volcan qui devore les existences et les fortunes avec un rapidité.

Smirk (Oxenford): London, sir, has temptations, and youth has passions, and when passions meet temptations, you, as a man of the world, know the result.

Leake (Boucicault): Young men will be young, and when they get to London they run wild, wild oats, ha, ha! they must be sown! The young 'uns sow and the old are obliged to reap.

Boucicault's words may have had their inspiration in Oxenford's dialogue in this instance; but it is not conclusive proof that he used Oxenford's play. It does prove, however, that Boucicault could write better dialogue.

Mimi, played at Wallack's Theatre, July 1, 1873,[61] has not survived. It was an adaptation of *La Vie de Bohème*, by Barrière and Murger.[62] The announcement of *Mimi* claims authorship for Dion Boucicault and H. Murger.

The first cast was as follows:

Durosel, a retired merchant.....Mr. W. D. Bradley
Maurice, his nephew and heir—a young poet.....Mr. D. Boucicault
Max Paslesou, a painter.....Mr. H. W. Crisp
Schneider, a musician.....Mr. Howson
Collinet, a medical student.....Mr. B. T. Ringgold
Clicot, a servant.....Mr. E. Lamb
Mme Darblay, a rich widow.....Mrs. Fanny Foster
Mimi, a work girl.....Miss Katharine Rogers
Rigolette, a modiste.....Miss Effie Germon
Salope, an equestrian artiste.....Miss Vandyke
Rosalie.....Miss Mary Wells[63]

All the characters except Mimi bear different names in the French play. The list and the settings for the five acts indicate that Boucicault followed the French comedy in the number of his acts and the number of his characters.

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[61] New York *Times*, June 30, 1873.

[62] *La Vie de Bohème*, comédie en cinq actes en prose, par Théodore Barrière and Henri Murger; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre des Variétés, le 22 novembre 1849. Paris, nouvelle édition, 1897.

[63] New York *Times*, July 1, 1873.

The comedy exhibits the Bohemian world in prosperity and adversity. These artists of various kinds live light heartedly and seem not to mind being hounded by bailiffs and debt. They stand by one another in sickness and death, but their loves are irregular according to the conventions of the world.

While *Mimi* has not survived, contemporary criticism of it has. The morning after its first performance the *Times* critic wrote: "*Mimi* is rich in felicitous dialogue and in capital 'business', but it is, after all, a thing of shreds and patches, and incidents of the most improbable kind and conversations of the most surprising character jostle situations and sound dissonant after words revealing clearly the hand of the practised playwright." The French play in its revival at the Comedie-Français in 1897 fares scarcely as well. After commenting on the bourgeois quality of the piece, the reviewer goes on: "La forme, dans les passages 'soignés', est justement celle qui peut le mieux donner aux illettrés l'illusion de la 'littérature'; et les images de vie joyeuse et d'amour libre, conventionnelles et fausses comme des vignettes de romance, y correspondent exactement à ce que la majorité du public entend par 'poesie.'"[64]

Unlike *Mimi*, Boucicault's next play, *Led Astray*, has survived. Adapted from Octave Feuillet's comedy *La Tentation*,[65] it was first presented at the Union Square Theatre, New York, December 8, 1873. Boucicault follows the plot much more closely than was his wont but he shows not so much a failing in inventive power as a knowledge of the American theatre-going public and the necessary skill to change certain relationships which would have been objectionable to that public. Even so, the New York *Tribune* remarked the morning after the first performance that "it is a moral superfluity that brings with it a bad air."

The two lists show how Boucicault renamed the characters:

Goutran, comte de Vardes.....Rodolph Chandoce
Achille de Kérouare.....Hector Placide
Georges Gordon Trévélyan.....George de Lesparre

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[64] *Reveu des Deux Mondes*, CXLIII (October 1, 1897), 688.

[65] *La Tentation*, pièce en cinq actes, par Octave Feuillet; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Vaudeville, le 19 mars 1860. Paris, 1860.

Le Marquis de Seillanes	Mount Gosline
Dumesnil	Major O'Hara
Cowperson	
Durel, concierge	Robert
Ravelet, piqueur	Huntsman
Camille, comtesse de Vardes	Armande Chandoce
Hélène, sa fille	Mathilde
Madame Dumesnil	Suzanne O'Hara
La Comtesse, douairière de Vardes	The Countess (Mother of Rodolph)
Madame de Saulieu, mère de Camille	Baroness (Mother of Armande)
Un Piqueur	
Invités	
	Lafontaine
	Sophie

La scène se passe de nos jours

In *Led Astray*, the group assembled at the country estate of Rodolph Chandoce is not a happy one. Rodolph is making the best of what he considers a bad match and the necessity of settling down by flirting with Suzanne, sister of Major O'Hara. To indemnify herself for her husband's neglect, Armande withdraws from all his activities, pities herself, and adds to her already large stock of sentimentality by reading romantic novels. Hector is in love with Mathilde, Armande's step-daughter; but her feeling for him is one of comradeship which leads her to entrust him with all sorts of commissions. Gosline is a cynic with designs on every woman's virtue. The Countess and the Baroness are at swords' points. Entering this group, Lesparre makes love to Armande, using the best means, romantic sentiment. Hurt by the philandering of her husband, Armande consents to elope with Lesparre. This temporary yielding to the seducer leads to a duel between Rodolph and Lesparre. Through the attention Armande is now lead to bestow upon Mathilde, the former comes to a better understanding with Rodolph and prompts the marriage of Mathilde and Hector.

The changes by which Boucicault makes the French piece better suited for the American stage are changes in relationship and characterization. Lesparre is changed in nationality from Irish to French; and so his rôle as seducer is conventionalized.

More important, Mathilde becomes the step-daughter instead of the daughter of Armande, a change that accounts better for the step-mother's indifference. Whatever sympathy Armande loses by this change is compensated for by a loss of attractive qualities in Rodolph and his guiltiness in philandering with Miss O'Hara. It should be noted, however, that the title of Boucicault's play is misleading. It is Armande who is tempted, but who yields only temporarily; it is Rodolph who is "led astray."

The last adaptation Boucicault made in 1873 was *A Man of Honor*, performed at Wallack's Theatre, December 22. It was described by him as "a legitimate comedy in five acts, imitated from a French subject." An examination of the announcement and reviews proves that *A Man of Honor*, which has not survived, was an adaptation of *Le Fils naturel* by Alexandre Dumas, *fils*.[66]

"The story, in brief," wrote a critic, "is the struggle of a man to realize exactly who he is, and to make himself what will fit him for any station—an honored man as well as a man of honor."[67] The argument, as outlined in the announcement, is as follows: "Act I. How Catherine's boy broke his arm, and was nursed by her invalid lover. How the young merchant visits his anonymous wife. Love in a cottage. The American Panic. The Separation. How a mask falls and the young wife gazes for the first time on the features of the man she loves. Act II. How two young lovers exchange biographies. The old song and the old story. How the arrival of the Countess frightens everybody but Renée out of their wits. How the proposal of marriage was discussed. How the family lawyer made the proposal and the dignity of the Countess was disordered. Jacques learns the secret of his life. Act III. How Catherine and Raymond meet after 20 years separation. Retribution. The duel between father and son. Jacques fights for his love. Act IV. How the old Marquis kept his birthday. The Egyptian Loan and the Great

[66] *Le Fils naturel*, comedie en cinq actes, dont un prologue, par Alexandre Dumas, fils; représentée pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, le 16 janvier 1858. In *Théâtre complet* de Al. Dumas, fils, Paris, 1868.

[67] New York *Herald*, December 23, 1873.

Bear. How the old Noble received his guests and how they were dispersed. How the Man of Honor finds his level and plays the infant in the last edition of the judgment of Solomon. How the Man of Money makes a corner for himself, and the old Marquis remains master of the situation. Act. V. How false pride sings a Miserere and true pride sings 'A Pæan,' 'Our Son.' The Man of Money and the Man of Honor. In the Game of Life, Hearts are Trumps."[68]

When this summary is supplemented with the long review of the plot in the *Herald*, it is clear that the source of Boucicault's play is *Le Fils naturel*. Boucicault retained the five acts, of which the first was a prologue. He completely renamed the characters. Alterations apparently consisted chiefly in additions of comedy. While *A Man of Honor* remained a study in illegitimacy, the ending was probably, unlike that of the original, a reconciliation between father and son.

The following review supports the view of the play's source and offers comment on the piece:

'A Man of Honor'—which was postponed from Saturday and brought out on Monday at Wallack's Theatre—is an adaptation of the French of A. Dumas. The playbill acutely states that it 'imitated from a French subject'. It is the safest assertion that could be made, and it must be a great relief to the sore conscience. 'A Man of Honor' is in five acts, neatly constructed, and well written, and it is freighted with a solemn lesson against the cruelty and treachery of men who deceive women and inflict upon children the misfortune of bastardy. There is great gravity and force in it, up to the end of act third —the most powerful of the acts—but after that, its tone is lowered to the pitch of farce. In the third act the father and his natural son are confronted in one of the most painful scenes possible to be conceived. We do not care now to state the particulars of the plot. They are not very nice.[69]

When *Rafael* was announced for production at Wallack's Theatre, April 10, 1875, no secret was made of its adaptation from "the romantic French play *Les Filles des Marbres*."[70,71]

[68] New York *Tribune*, December 22, 1873.
[69] New York *Tribune*, December 24, 1873.
[70] *Les Filles de Marbre*, drame en cinq actes, mêlé de chant; par MM. Théodore Barrière et Lambert Thiboust; musique nouvelle de M. Montaubry, représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Vaudeville, le 17 mai 1853; Paris, 1853.
[71] New York *Herald*, April 10, 1875.

A contemporary reviewer suggests that the source is *The Marble Heart*;[72] but if this latter was used and is Selby's, the ultimate source of *Rafael* would still be the French play.

The authorship of *Rafael* is the subject of conjecture. Walsh, Boucicault's biographer, does not mention the play. The newspaper announcements of the play and the playbills give no author. Miss Anderson[73] ascribes the play to Boucicault, as does J. R. Towse.[74] At the time of the play's production Boucicault was held responsible by the reviewers.[75] In the light of the foregoing evidence *Rafael* may be accepted as an adaptation from the French by Boucicault. Perhaps the play's reception as a "great blunder or a vast joke" kept Boucicault from acknowledging the piece.

Since the play has not survived, it is impossible to state accurately what changes were made in the adaptation. Some of the original characters were omitted, and a few were renamed. "In the main incidents," writes a reviewer, "'Rafael' . . . follows pretty closely the original story, except that the peculiar *demi-monde* taint attaching to the female characters in the French version has been softened down to suit the more severe morals of the American stage. This part of the work has been happily done . . . Once or twice only did there occur allusions broad enough to make prim people start . . ."[76] No doubt the plot of an artist dying of love for a courtesan needed adaptation to suit the tastes of "prim people."

Forbidden Fruit, first produced at Wallack's Theatre October 3, 1876, is a far cry from *Andy Blake*, of 1854. *Andy Blake* belongs to the *comédie larmoyante; Forbidden Fruit* is a farce dealing with the errant husband. Boucicault had bordered on

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[72] New York *Times*, April 11, 1875.
[73] *Dion Boucicault; Man of the Theatre*, p. 138.
[74] *Sixty Years of the Theatre, an Old Critic's Memories*, New York, 1916, p. 95.
[75] New York *Times*, April 11, 1875, and New York *Tribune*, April 12, 1875.
[76] New York *Herald*, April 11, 1875.

the theme in *Mimi* in 1873, but there the errant one was a bachelor. The difference in subject matter and treatment as seen over a period of twenty-two years represents a change in French comedy and brings us close to our own time when to most people the term "French comedy" connotes a "naughty" play. Boucicault was not the first to treat the subject in American drama. The credit for that appears to go to W. H. Hurlbert, whose *Americans in Paris* was produced in 1858. Following the practise of American playwrights in comedy, Hurlbert lays his scene abroad, in Paris; Boucicault moves his play across the channel to London.

The characters of *Forbidden Fruit* are as follows:

Mr. Sergeant Buster (senior counsel)	Railway Porter
Mr. Cato Dove (junior counsel)	Conductor
Captain Derringer	Cabman
Podd	Mrs. Cato Dove (Josephine)
Swalbach, German Headwaiter	Mrs. Arabella Buster
Victor, French Waiter	Zulu

Miss Julia Perkins—Bar Maid

The action of this three-act play consists chiefly in stratagems to avoid recognition in compromising situations. Zulu, an equestrian *artiste* who is nightly shot from a gun, comes to the office of Buster and Dove, lawyers in the Brighton case. Here she meets Cato, who is not above a little occasional philandering. When Buster interrupts, Zulu leaves; and Dove tries to pretend that the interview has been with a client. Buster, however, cries down his misrepresentations and welcomes him as a fellow sinner. They agree upon a plan. First, they invite Zulu and another member of her troupe to have dinner with them at Cremorne; then, they write their wives notes explaining that they are called away to Nottingham on the Brighton case. Arabella Buster spoils Buster's plans, and Josephine Dove insists not only on driving with her husband to the station but also on receiving a telegram announcing his arrival at Nottingham. At the station Dove hits upon the idea of deceiving his wife by getting off at the first station and by having the conductor send the telegram. After his departure matters are complicated through the arrival

from India of Josephine's brother, Captain Derringer, and he proposes that the two have a family dinner at Cremorne. Before they have left the station, Dove comes back. The necessity of preventing husband and wife from recognizing one another in the compromising situations which are presented during the rest of the night now burdens the playwright and provides the comedy for the audience. All seven principals do meet at Cremorne in a restaurant, and stratagems finally are rendered unnecessary by the disclosure of the brother's identity and his assumption of responsibility for the presence of Zulu.

Forbidden Fruit is adapted from three French plays, *Le Procès Veauradieux*,[77] *Les Dominos Roses*,[78] and *Le Premier Coup de canif*.[79] In the writing of the first two French comedies, Delacour and Hennequin collaborated. Anicet-Bourgeois and Brisebarre are the authors of the third. Boucicault adapts the first act of *Le Procès Veauradieux* for the first act of *Forbidden Fruit*, and for his two remaining acts he uses the two-act comedy, *Le Premier Coup de canif*. Buster and Dove are the two lawyers in *Le Procès Veauradieux;* their wives, Captain Derringer, and Zulu, all renamed, come from *Le Premier Coup de canif*. From the former play Boucicault draws the situation of these lawyers making an appointment with two women; but the subsequent adventures take place at the home of one of the women. The idea of scenes in a restaurant is found in such settings in *Le Premier Coup de canif*, a play Boucicault follows quite closely. The chief contribution of *Les Dominos Roses* to *Forbidden Fruit* is the conception of two errant husbands, one whom is hypocritical in acknowledging his philanderings. One of the acts of this play is laid in a restaurant, and the necessity of avoiding recognition also arises. Boucicault's few additions did not

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[77] *Le Procès Veauradieux*, comédie en trois actes, par MM. A. Delacour et A. Hennequin; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Vaudeville, le 19 juin 1875. Paris, s. d.

[78] *Les Dominos Roses*, comédie en trois actes, par MM. A. Delacour et A. Hennequin; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Vaudeville, le 17 avril 1876. Paris, 1879.

[79] *Le Premier Coup de canif*, comédie-vaudeville en deux actes, par MM. Anicet-Bourgeois et Edouard Brisebarre; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, le 14 août 1848. Paris, 1852.

improve the quality of the originals, and he makes his farce ludicrous and at times wholly impossible. The dialogue, as generally with Boucicault, is of a very fair order.

It has been reported that Boucicault's play, *Marriage*, first acted at Wallack's Theatre, October 1, 1877, is from the French play, *Un Chapeau de Paille d'Italie*[80] by Labiche and Marc-Michel.[81] As the American play has not survived, it is difficult to say that this statement is incorrect; but the slight evidence that can be produced on the matter points to either an original play or to an adaptation from a different source. There is, of course, the possibility that he "boucicaulted" the French original to such a degree that the slight summary of the plot that does exist shows no trace of its origin.

Un Chapeau de Paille d'Italie is a comedy. Fadinard, engaged to Hèléne, must restore to Anaïs a straw hat so that her husband will not suspect an intrigue. In his effort to duplicate this hat Fadinard hastens, with the wedding party at his heels, to a milliner who proves to be an old flame, then to the home of a baroness who, it turns out, has given the hat to Beauperthuis, the husband of Anaïs. All efforts are unsuccessful until it is discovered that a duplicate of the hat he seeks has been delivered to Fadinard's home as a gift to his prospective bride.

None of the characters in *Un Chapeau de Paille d'Italie* is named in the personages of *Marriage* and, I believe, none of the incidents of the foregoing summary is reflected in the description of the acts which here follows the cast:

Silas Auldjo, a family solicitor.....Mr. John Gilbert
Mudgeon, his clerk.....Mr. E. M. Holland
Walter Auldgo, his son and partner.....Mr. Eben Plympton
Mr. Constant Tiffe, a son-in-law of Mrs. Tarbox.....Mr. Edward Arnott
Mrs. Constant Tiffe, his young wife.....Miss Rose Coghlan

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[80] *Un Chapeau de Paille d'Italie*; comédie en cinq actes, mêlée de chants, par E. Labiche et Marc-Michel; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de la Montansier, le 14 août 1851. Paris, nouvelle édition, s. d.
[81] Walsh, *The Career of Dion Boucicault*, p. 151.

Mrs. Tarbox, a fashionable mother.....Mme Ponisi
Fannie, her daughter, a bride.....Miss Stella Boniface
Archibald Meek, a young gentleman of large fortune....Mr. H. J. Montague
John Persimmons, an elderly gentleman, a bridegroom.....Mr. H. Beckett
Virginia, his "old flame" and (at last) a bride.....Miss Effie Germon
Rosalie, an heiress and ward in chancery secretly married to
Walter Auldjo.....Miss Pearl Eytinge
Miss Sniffle (an old maid).....Mrs. Sefton
Josephine (Fannie's lady's maid).....Miss Meta Bartlett
Celia (a servant).....Miss Thornton
Bridesmaids, Servants, Butler, Waiters

Act 1—The Day Before Marriage: Executing the Settlements—The Ward in Chancery—The Secret Marriage.

Act 2—The Wedding Morning: The Toilet of the Bride—A Rehearsal—Wedding Presents—Off to Church—The Wedding Breakfast—Off on a Bridal Tour.

Act 3—The Evening of the Wedding Day: The Dove Cot at Shellbeach—Infidelity, Like Murder, Will Out—The Babes in the Wood.

Act 4—The Day After the Wedding: Romance vs. Reality—The Brides at Breakfast—Separation—A Family Party Surprised.

Act 5—The First of the Honeymoon: A Partial Eclipse—Confession and Reparation—The Head of the Family.[82]

Before coming to America Boucicault adapted from Dumas, *père*, a play entitled *Pauline*, which was performed at the Princess's Theatre, London, March 17, 1851.[83] The same place and date of performance are assigned to a play of the same title by John Oxenford.[84] The ultimate source of these two plays—if there were two—was Dumas' story, *Pauline*. The immediate source was probably *Pauline*, a play dramatized from the story by Grangé and Montépin[85] and presented at the Théâtre-historique June 1, 1850.

In this country at Wallack's Theatre there was produced on February 24, 1879 "a romantic drama, consisting of a prologue

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[82] New York *Herald*, October 1, 1877.

[83] Walsh, p. 43.

[84] See Clarence, "*The Stage*" *Cyclopedia*, p. 348; and Pascoe, *The Dramatic List*, p. 141.

[85] *Pauline*, drame en 5 actes et 8 tableaux, précédé de la Chasse au tigre, prologue en 1 acte, tiré du roman de M. Alexandre Dumas, par MM. E. Grangé et X. de Montépin. Paris, Théâtre-historique, 1er juin 1850.

and three acts, entitled *Spell-bound*, adapted by Mr. Dion Boucicault from a story . . . by the elder Dumas."[86] The play has not survived, and it is impossible to determine finally whether it was the old English play, *Pauline*, revamped, or a direct adaptation as stated in the playbill.[87]

There is evidence to show that Boucicault knew both the French play and Oxenford's. The French play was one of five acts, preceded by a prologue of a tiger hunt. Oxenford's *Pauline* was one of three acts without prologue, and the tiger hunt was related. Boucicault's *Spell-bound* was in three acts preceded by a prologue of a tiger hunt laid in "a mountain pass at night, in northern Hindoostan." Although *Spell-bound* has but three acts, these are divided into eight scenes, the number being the same as the tableaux of the French play. Since Boucicault made use of the prologue of the French play in *Spell-bound* and Oxenford did not, and since it was Boucicault's custom to go to the original play, I conclude that Boucicault knew *Pauline* by Grangé and Montépin.

The lists of characters make clear that Boucicault drew some of his characters from the play of Oxenford. The French play followed Dumas' story in naming the villain Count Horace de Beuzeval; Oxenford called him Count Horace de Beaupre, and Boucicault named him Count Raoul de Beaupre. Oxenford used ten names found in the French play. He invented, however, the names of Brissac, Remy, and Ali; and these Boucicault adopted. In adopting two other names invented by Oxenford, Boucicault altered them slightly. Leon de Secqueville became in *Spell-bound* Charles de Secqueville, and Harriet Morland, Adele Moreland.

The American play met with an unfavorable reception as indicated by the following review: "*Spellbound*, a *réchauffé* by Mr. Dion Boucicault of the old melodrama of *Pauline*,[88]

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[86] Playbill. Shaw Theatre Collection.

[87] There is another possibility. An anonymous writer in the New York *Mirror* for April 23, 1887, claims that from Dumas' *Nuit de Terreur* came *Pauline*, and the latter, revamped, was called *Spell-bound* when produced. I have been unable to find *Nuit de Terreur* by Dumas.

[88] *Pauline*, according to Ireland (Vol. II, p. 612), was first played in America at Wallack's Theatre, March 17, 1853. The characters are practically the same as those listed in an anonymous *Pauline* published by Samuel French. The play is without prologue and relates the tiger hunt.

was produced at Wallack's Theatre last evening to a full house. It is now eleven years since *Pauline*, a play taken from the French of the elder Dumas, was performed here. Its French title 'Une Nuit de Terreur' sufficiently indicates that its object was to appeal to the nerves of the auditors rather than to their intellect . . . Why Mr. Boucicault should have altered it at all, or why, in altering it, he did not improve it, we are at a loss to say . . . Mr. Boucicault must have dashed the prologue off in a very great hurry, or else his hand is losing its cunning. There was not a trace of his old time skill in the dialogue and but little of it in the new situations. The act with which he interfered least remained the best, for the more he changed the less he improved."[89]

Since Boucicault's next adaptation, *Contempt of Court*, presented at Wallack's Theatre, October 4, 1879, has not survived, it is necessary to give a contemporary account of the plot. "A married man, M. Clicquot, is condemned, for the offense, 'contempt of court,' to confinement in prison. At the opening of the play, he is out on bail. Before taking up his quarters at the State's expense, however, he determines 'to make a night of it.' He deceives his wife, with this end in view, and, accompanied by some friends, visits a masked ball. After his departure, an old lover of his wife, M. Lalouette, invades the house of Mme Clicquot, and is there found by the officers who have come to arrest her husband. They proceed to arrest Lalouette, who, as the circumstances are compromising, offers no objections. The second act introduces us into the ball room, where we behold a number of gay young husbands making merry with masked women whose virtue may reasonably be questioned. The wife of Cliquot, who has learned of her lord's treachery, then enters, and, while she wears a mask, is obliged to undergo the most degrading insults, which are chiefly inflicted by the honorable partner of her life and love. Well, to make a long story not worth the telling, a variety of complications arise, and wife and husband finally recognize each other. The whole affair is wound up in the third act, everything being set aright and a lofty moral

[89] New York *Herald*, April 25, 1879.

inculcated by one of the individuals who had been 'making a night of it.'"[90]

The story of the plot proves that Boucicault used *Le Réveillon*, by Meilhac and Halévy[91] for his first and third acts. There is other evidence pointing in the same direction. He kept the name Fanny for the leading feminine rôle and the name Leopold for one of the minor characters. The first and third acts have the same settings in both playbill[92] and French play. Further proof is had in the similarity, which the reviewers note, of *Contempt of Court* to *On Bail*. W. S. Gilbert had adapted *Le Réveillon* in a play of two acts called *Committed for Trial* and presented in London in 1874. In 1877 he revised the play, expanding it into three acts, and renamed it *On Bail*.[93]

On the playbill of the performance Boucicault acknowledges constructing his play from two French comedies. The other play may have been *Les Dominos Roses* by Delacour and Hennequin. The contemporary reviewers note the similarity to a play called *Pink Dominos*. The second act of *Contempt of Court* is laid in the "conservatory at the prefecture, illuminated for a masked ball." The second acts of *Le Réveillon* and of *Les Dominos Roses* are dining room scenes, though the characters in the former play are disguised by false names and in the latter play by masks. Boucicault had previously used suggestions from *Les Dominos Roses* in *Forbidden Fruit* and may have done the same in *Contempt of Court*.

A more probable conjecture is that Boucicault interpolated the second act of Hurlbert's *Americans in Paris* for his second act. The settings are the same. *Contempt of Court*, moreover, has two characters, Lucenay and Baptiste, that appear in *Americans in Paris*. The action of the plots in both plays, if one may trust the contemporary summary, is practically identical.

While the *Herald* reviewer declared that "there was scarcely a line in the work, theatrically speaking, that was not worthy of

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[90] New York *Times*, October 5, 1879.

[91] *Le Réveillon*, comédie en trois actes, par MM. Meilhac et Halévy; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Palais-Royal, le 10 septembre 1872. In *Théâtre* de Meilhac, Paris, s. d.

[92] Playbill. Shaw Theatre Collection.

[93] Adams, p. 318.

praise," the *Tribune* critic called it "a partly deodorized French farce, indelicate in its subject, coarse in some of its lines, tainted in its suggestions, devoid of all nobleness and sweetness, noisy, ill-bred, shallow, and only recommended to approval by its abundance of ludicrous incidents." The *Times* attacked viciously the play's "most denuded vulgarity."

It should be noted that *Contempt of Court* was "first performed in London at the Marylebone Theatre on October 1, 1879"[94] three days before the American production. It is probable that the London performance was given to secure the copyright.

"'The Amadan', an Irish play full of sombre effects, received its *première* at the Boston Museum, Monday, February 5, 1883.[95] It was remotely akin to a French melodrama, 'Le Crétin de la Montagne',[96] and the chief character, *Colley*, the 'amadan', . . . was a half-witted boy with a doglike devotion for a beautiful girl who treated him with tender kindness."[97] The play has survived, but as it is not available, the relationship cannot at present be traced. The truth, however, of Walsh's statement is attested by the similarity of the two titles, for *amadan* means in the Irish "a madman, a simpleton, a foolish silly man, a fool."

The French melodrama, however, was not new to American audiences, having been "translated and adapted for the Arch Street Theatre, September 23, 1861."[98] It was called, *Jeannette; or, Le Crétin de la Montagne*. The names of the characters were not Anglicized.

The characters of the original French play are:

Claude-Marie
Roussel, colporteur
Jacques Caussade, maître de forge

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[94] Clarence, p. 88.

[95] Miss Anderson (p. 143) claims a first performance for January 29, 1883. Through the Public Library of the City of Boston I am informed that on January 29, 1883 an advance notice gave the cast and that the first performance was February 5, 1883. See also playbill in Shaw Theatre Collection.

[96] *Le Crétin de la Montagne*, drame en cinq actes, par MM. Eugène Grangé et Lambert Thiboust; représenté, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de la Gaîté, le 3 juin 1861. Paris, 1861.

[97] Walsh, p. 161.

[98] Playbill. Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

Paul Caussade, son fils
Pierre Pujol, aubergiste
Placide Baudrier, brigadier de gendarmerie
Simon
Andoche, garçon d'auberge
Castalou, guide
Joseph, domestique
Un Guide
Un Paysan
Un Gendarme
Un Aveugle
Jeanne Pujol
Madame de Flavigneul
Noémi
Mariette
Gendarmes, guides, paysans, ouvriers, marchands et marchandes, jeunes filles, enfants

Royer was correct in declaring that Lambert Thiboust and Grangé had sacrificed to the god of Pixerécourt in composing this play.[99] Jacques Caussade in order to save his wife's dowry took as his own child, Paul, the son of Madame de Flavigneul. Since Simon knows of this abduction, Caussade finds it necessary to murder him under circumstances that will throw suspicion on Pujol. Pujol's daughter, Jeanne, manages to save her father and reveal the murderer chiefly through the aid of Claude, the cretin. Not only does Claude reveal the murderer, he also saves Jeanne from seduction and death, and delivers her finally to her lover, Paul. As literature, the piece is worthless. Its one striking feature, the devotion of Claude for Jeanne, is evidently what Boucicault used in his play, *The Amadan.*

Vice Versa, the second adaptation of Boucicault to be presented in 1883, has not survived. Its initial performance at Wollock's Theatre, Springfield, Massachusetts, March 21, 1883, is described as "an event of much and unusual interest."[100] Offered in New York at the Star Theatre five days later, it met with an unfavorable reception: "Mr. Boucicault, with that scrupulous

[99] *Histoire Universelle du Théâtre,* Vol. V, p. 415.
[100] Springfield *Republican,* March 22, 1883.

consideration for truth which has always been his finest virtue, directs attention to the fact that his new play is taken from a French comedy. Its intrigue is certainly neither novel nor vivacious, and what good there is in it brings to mind 'Le[s] Valets de Sham.' There is occasional brightness in 'Vice Versa' but the piece is too threadbare to be entertaining, and too strained to be above stupidity. It cannot be pretended, moreover, that Mr. Boucicault was happily placed in the character of O'Flattery —a sort of Irish light comedian, who, in this presentment, had the voice and not the charm of Conn and of Mr. Boucicault's romantic vagabonds . . . Miss Martinot, for whom 'Vice Versa, is said to have been prepared, seemed to mistake superfluous action for acting. The audience was inclined to be cordial and the few touches of humor in the performance were eagerly appreciated. Appreciation, in the circumstances, was an amiable condescension."[101]

The cast, to whom the audience so amiably condescended, and the settings for the acts were as follows:

Mr. Phenix O'Flattery, of Bally na Cuish.....Mr. Dion Boucicault
(Of the Foreign Office, and Major of the East Putney Royal Irish Horse Artillery, an Irish Lothario, aged 50)

Mrs. Clingstone Peach.....Miss Martinot
(A young widow in pursuit of the fugitive Phenix whom she met at Scarboro)

Madge.....Miss Von Leer
(Her lady's maid, in pursuit of the fugitive Dodge, whom she met at Margate)

Angelina Hyde.....Miss Theresa Waldon
(On the eve of her wedding day with Phenix)

Jeremiah Dodge.....Mr. Owen Fawcett
(The valet of O'Flattery)

Count Popoff.....Mr. J. J. Wallace
(Attached to the Russian Embassy and in its Secret Service)

The Count Kickemoff, The Baron Jugowiski } his friends..... { Mr. D. Ellis, Mr. P. S. Cooke

John Hyde.....Mr. Benj. Maginley
(Of Rowney, Hertfordshire, a wealthy tanner, father of Angelina, aged 60)

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[101] New York *Times*, March 27, 1883.

Alexander.....Mr. G. Gilmour
(His nephew, in love with Angy)
Isidor.....Mr. Bland
(A French hair-dresser)
Joe.....Mr. Reynolds
(An errand boy from Poole's)
Wilkinson.....Mr. G. Clark
(A footman)
Mrs. Cudley.....Miss Bowen
(A janitress)
The bridal guests attending the marriage of Miss Angelina Hyde, contributed by the village of Rowney

Act I—The Chambers of Phenix O'Flattery in Brook St.
Unearthed.
Act II—The Boudoir in Mrs. Clingstone Peach's home in Mayfair.
Pursued.
Act III—John Hyde's Tannery at Rowney, in Hertfordshire.
Brought to Bay.[102]

Vice Versa was an adaptation from *Le Truc d'Arthur* by Alfred Duru and Henri Chivot.[103] The first proof lies in the similarity of the characters, who despite their Irish names, are taken from the French play. In both plays there are master and valet who are pursued by women; a tanner whose daughter is about to marry the master; an adventuress and her maid who pursue the master and the valet; three Russians; and a French barber. The settings are the same for the three acts.

A final proof is the plot. Although little can be gleaned from the descriptions of the characters, it is sufficient to prove that the plots are the same. In the original, "le truc d'Arthur" is reported to an harassed Leopold as the trick whereby a valet received his dismissal from women of a higher social class with whom he had flirted, by confessing his real means of livelihood. Leopold, pursued by the Baroness Hermosa, puts into practice the trick and changes places with his valet, who, in his turn, is

[102] New York *Times*, March 26, 1883.
[103] *Le Truc d'Arthur*, comédie en trois actes, par MM. Alfred Duru et Henri Chivot; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre Palais-Royal, le 14 octobre 1882. Paris, nouvelle édition, 1926.

sought by a maid of the Baroness. It is this reversal of positions that undoubtedly gave Boucicault his title, *Vice Versa*. It is needless to press the point by detailing the French plot. The action becomes a matter of getting one person off the stage before he can be recognized by another. Necessary conversations are never interrupted; and situations, impossible even for a farce, are accepted. Sufficient proof has been offered to justify the claim that *Vice Versa* was taken from *Le Truc d'Arthur*.

In the last adaptation Boucicault made from the French he had a collaborator, Sydney Rosenfield. Together they produced a play with the title *Lend Me Your Wife*. It was produced first in Boston, August 25, 1890, at the Boston Museum;[104] and two years later, September 5, 1892, it was presented at the Star Theatre, New York.[105] *Lend Me Your Wife* is an adaptation of *Prête-moi ta femme!* by Maurice Desvallières.[106]

The characters of the French piece are as follows:

Rabastoul
Gontran, son neveu
Rissolin
Beautiran, conseiller de préfecture à Carcassonne
Angèle, femme de Rissolin
Edith, fille de Rabastoul
Juliette, femme de chambre d'Angèle
Magay, nourrice anglaise
Jean, domestique
De nos jours, à Paris

Rabastoul becomes Captain Abner Tarbox. In the American version the daughter of the Captain is Hitty; the nephew is Dick Easily. Rissolin and his wife, Angèle, become Tom and Bessie Bunting. Beautiran becomes Funnibone. Lottie takes the rôle of the three maid servants. Bessie's father, Alexander Stirrup, and Harry, "the new boy," and Franz, "a German waiter," are added.

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[104] Place and date supplied by Mrs. Lillian A. Hall of the Shaw Theatre Collection.

[105] New York *Times*, September 5, 1892.

[106] *Prête-moi ta femme!* comédie en deux actes, par Maurice Desvallières; représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Palais-Royal, le 10 septembre 1883. Paris, s. d.

Roland Reed, the leading actor in the American production, apologized for the play in a curtain speech by calling it an "eccentric comedy." Eccentric it is to the verge of impossibility. The theme of the play is the plight of a young man who, in order to keep from having his inheritance cut off by his uncle, pretends to be married. When his uncle unexpectedly pays him a visit, he borrows the wife and baby of his friend. This situation and its development Boucicault and Rosenfield take over for their play with but few alterations. The American play is expanded from two to three acts by the addition of new characters and a new love interest, and by the farcical elements which these factors introduce. The only other change of importance is the introduction of the borrowed baby. In the American play the uncle knows about the existence of the baby before the play opens. In the French original the baby, suddenly brought into the room by a maid, must be accounted for. As with most of Boucicault's plays, the background is made thoroughly local. Unlike his others, the dialogue lacks the sparkle necessary to carry off the farcical situation. There is evidence, too, of hasty construction. The use of a letter written in the original play in English is awkwardly handled. In his last adaptation from the French, Boucicault did not score a success, nor did he deserve to. During the years, his grip had loosened.

APPENDIX A

A Comparison of the Dramatis Personæ

A Comparison of the *Dramatis Personæ* of the Extant Plays

L'Abbaye de Castro

Jules Brachioforte
Le Capitaine Ranuccio
Le Cardinal Montalte
Le Comte Campireali
Fabio, son fils
Ugone, chef de bravi
Le Gouveneur de Rome
Le Prieur du Monte-Cavi
Sciotti, hôtellier
Un Chef de Bravi
Mario
Premier Bravi
Luidgi, Matteo } valets du Comte
La Comtesse Campireali
Hélène, sa fille
L'Abbesse de Castro
La Supérieure du couvent de l'Ave-Maria
La Directrice de l'abbaye de Castro
Margarita, gouvernante de Jules
La Tourière de l'abbaye de Castro
Une Religieuse de l'abbaye de Castro
Trois Parens du Comte Campireali
Bravi
Religieuses
Sbires
Paysans

The Pope of Rome

Cardinal Montalto
Adrian Peretti
Hugo, a Soldier of Fortune
The Count Colonna
Fabio, his son
Matteo
Lorenzo, a Captain of Condottieri
Carlo, Julio, Antonio, Beppo } Condottieri
Retainers, Zingari, Monks, and Priests
Bianca Colonna
The Countess Colonna
Sister Monique
Nuns and Peasants

La Bergère des Alpes

Le Capitaine Duclos
Jean Maurice, vieux soldat
Fernand, petit-fils de la Duchesse et cousin de Léonide
Un Vieillard de Saint-Didier
Martin, aubergiste
François, laquais
Jérome, id.
Troisième Laquais
Le Guide
La Duchesse de Chateau-Gontier
Léonide, sa petite-fille
Hortensia, femme de charge
Pauvrette, chevrière
Thérèse, femme de Martin
Paysans, Paysannes, une femme de chambre

Pauvrette

Count Maurice
Bernard
Michel
Martin
Intendant
Servants, Villagers, and Russian Soldiers
Duchess de Beaulieu
Marie
Louise
Pauvrette
Therese
Villagers, and two Lady's Maids

Les Crochets du Père Martin

Le Père Martin
Armand Martin, son fils
Félicien, ami d'Armand
Charançon
Laurent, domestique d'Armand
Le Capitaine Dubourg
Le Vicomte
Bastien, jardinier
Gérard, pilote
Un Matelot
Un Garçon d'Hotel
Le Marquis
Geneviève, femme de Martin
Amélie, leur fileulle
Olympia
Georgina
Pampette
Célina
Deux Amis, Garçons de Restaurant, Hommes du Chemin de Fer, Voyageurs, Commissionnaires, Bourgeoises

The O'Dowd

Dennis O'Dowd
Mike
Bertie Talboys
Colonel Muldoon
Romsey Leake
Lord Ossidew
Borromore
Chomley
Chalker
Barney
Mat
Sligo Dan
Mr. Daly
Wilcox
Lady Rose Lawless
Mrs. Dudley Fowler
Mrs. Wilton Gore
Kitty M'Coul
Maud
Grace
Bridget O'Dowd
Miss Vansittar

La Dame aux Camélias

Armand Duval
Georges Duval, père d'Armand
Gaston Rieux
Saint-Gaudens
Gustave
Le Comte de Giray
Varville
Arthur
Le Docteur
Un Commissionnaire
Domestiques
Marguerite Gautier
Nichette
Prudence
Nanine
Olympe
Anaïs
Invités

Camille; or, The Fate of a Coquette
Camille
Helene
Mad. Babiliard
Michette
Nanette
Anaïs
Armand Duval
Mons. Duval
St. Frivole
Gustave
De Varville
Arthur
Gaston

Camille

Camille
Armand Duval
DeVarville
Gaston
Gustave
Mons. Duval
Prudence
Nanine
Nichette
Olympe

Le Demi-Monde

Olivier de Jalin
De Nanjac
Hippolyte Richond
De Tonnerins
Premier Domestique
Deuxième Domestique
Troisième Domestique
La Baronne Suzanne d'Ange
La Vicomtesse de Vernières
Valentine de Santis
Marcelle
Une Femme de Chambre

Beatrice; or, The False and the True
Count Ramiro di Peschiera (an Italian exile)
Lord Walter Courtenay (his friend)
Lord Landsmere (an old nobleman)
Rev. Mr. Hoffman (President of the Society)
Mark Bellamy (an old gardener)
Richards (secr'y to Landsmere)
William (servant to Landsmere)
Beatrice di Negra (an Italian adventuress)
Lady Edith Bellenden (niece to Lord Landsmere)
Clara Bellenden (her daughter)
Mrs. Fanny Fitzherbert (confidant of Beatrice)
Francesca (maid to Beatrice)

Les Droits de l'Homme

Duroc, ex-chef de division au ministère des Affaires étrangères
Roger de Julianne, diplomate
Gaston d'Arthès, substitut
Caroline de Lussan, jeune veuve
Angélique, femme de M. Duroc
Gabrielle, pupille de M. Duroc

The Rights of Man

Sir William Thornton
Hon. Arthur Ellesmere
Walter Grenville (in love with Helen)
Lady Aurora (a gay young Widow)
Helen Aubrey (Sir William's Ward)
Lady Emily Thornton (Sir William's Wife)

La Fiammina

Daniel Lambert, peintre
Henri Lambert, son fils

Duchâteau, député
Sylvain Duchâteau, son fils
Georges Dudley, pair d'Angleterre
Beppo
Domestiques
La Fiammina, chanteuse italienne
Laure Duchâteau, fille de Duchâteau
Madame Duchâteau, femme de Duchâteau
La Comtesse Barni
Miss Cliffort, gouvernante de Laure

La Fiammina

Leon de Murilla
Henri de Murilla (his son)
M. Duchâteau
Sylvain
Lord Dudley
Pierre
Justin
La Fiammina
Mme. Duchâteau
Rosalie Duchâteau
Baroness Barni

Le Fils de la Nuit

Prologue

Le Duc de Sylla
Le Comte d'Orbani
Bravadura
Le Marquis de Montéfiori
Guisca
Tomasso
Petruccio
Premier Pirate
Deuxième Pirate
Premier Soldat
Deuxième Soldat
Julia Favelli
Ghébel

Drame

Ben Leil
Donato
Bravadura
Guisca
Montéfiori
Le Vice-Roi
Tomasso
Premier Pirate
Deuxième Pirate
Troisième Pirate
Un Mendiant
Un Homme du Peuple
Un Sicilien
Un Lazzarone
Un Bourgeois
Julia Favelli
Ghébel
Myrtha
Phingar
Fiammetta
Une Bohémienne
Beppo

The Son of the Night

Prologue

The Duke de Scylla
Marquis of Montifeori
Count D'Orbani
Bravadura—(a Pirate)
Petruchio
Tomaso
1st Nobleman
2nd Nobleman
3rd Nobleman
4th Nobleman
1st Pilgrim
2nd Pilgrim
Julia di Favelli
Ghebel
Noblemen, Peasants, Soldiers, etc.

Drama

Ben Liel, The Son of the Night
Viceroy of Naples
Marquis of Fieremonte
Duke Donato
Bravadura, Guisca, Pepino, Lazari, Julio } (Pirates)
Tomaso—(an old Servant)
Beppo
1st Citizen
2nd Citizen
3rd Citizen
Julia, Duchess of Scylla
Ghebel
Myrtha—(Princess of Fieremonte)
Phingar
Fiametta
Gypsy Woman
Pages, Guards, Market People, Pirates, Soldiers, Sailors, Noblemen, Ladies of the Court, Pages, etc.

Le Gamin de Paris

Le Général Morin
Amédée, son fils
Mme de Morin, belle-sœur du général
Mme Meunier, grand-mère
Joseph, Élise } ses petits enfans
M. Bijot, vieil employé
Hilaire, valet de chambre du général
Deux Domestiques

Andy Blake; or, The Irish Diamond

General Daly
Dick Daly (his son)
Andy
Ignatius Mulrooney
Mrs. Blake
Mary
Lady Mountjoy

Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle

Le Duc de Richelieu, pair de France
Le Chevalier d'Aubigny, gentilhomme breton, lieutenant aux gardes du roi
Le Duc d'Aumont, capitaine aux gardes
Le Chevalier d'Auvray, lieutenant des maréchaux de France, greffier du point d'honneur
Chamillac
Premier Laquais de la marquise de Prie
German, laquais du duc de Richelieu
La Marquise de Prie
Mademoiselle Gabrielle de Belle-Isle
Mariette, femme de chambre de la marquise de Prie
Seigneurs, Valets

The Duke's Wager

The Duke de Richelieu
The Duke d'Aumont
The Chevalier d'Auvray
The Chevalier d'Aubigny
Chamillac
The Abbé de Rosanne
The Marchioness de Valcour
Gabriella de Belle Isle
Marietta
Gentlemen and Ladies of the Court, Footmen, Pages, etc.

Médée

Créon, roi de Corinthe
Créusa, sa fille
Orphée
Jason
Médée
La Nourrice de Créusa
Une Jeune Fille
Lycaon, Mélanthe } enfants de Jason et de Médée
Hommes de Corinthe, Canéphores, Esclaves, Suite de Créon

Medea

Creon, *King of Corinth*
Jason
Orpheus
Lycaon, Melanthus } *Medea's Children*
Corinthian
Citizens
Medea, *a Cholchin Princess*
Creusa
Ianthe
Priests, Maidens, etc.

Monsieur Jovial, ou l'huissier chansonnier

Jovial, huissier
Saint-Leon, jeune homme à la mode
Ducroisé, tapissier
Vincent, garçon restaurateur
Élise d'Albi
Cécile, son amie, jeune veuve
Justine, femme de chambre
Recors, promeneurs, invités

Wanted—A Widow, with Immediate Possession

Harry Revel (a gentleman in difficulties)
Mr. Clinch Merryweather (a sheriff's officer in search of him)
Croker (a follower of Merryweather's)
Brads (an upholsterer)
Waiter
Mrs. Lovebird (a widow)
Lady Blanche Mountjoy (another)
Mary
Jane

Les Pauvres de Paris

Pierre Bernier
André Bernier
Planterose
Villebrun
Fabien de Roquefeuil
Joubert
Bigot
Joseph
Un Commissionnaire
Un Employé
Un Agent
Un Facteur
Un Voyageur
Madame Bernier
Antionette
Reine Bigot
Claudette
Alida Villebrun
Une Fruitière
Passants, Voyageurs, Voyageuses, Commissionnaires, Témoins

The Poor of New York

Captain Fairweather
Gideon Bloodgood
Badger
Mark Livingstone
Paul
Puffy
Dan

Daniels
Edwards
Mrs. Fairweather
Mrs. Puffy
Alida
Lucy

Prête-moi ta femme

Rabastoul
Gontran, son neveu
Rissolin
Beautiran, conseiller de préfecture à Carcassonne
Angèle, femme de Rissolin
Edith, fille de Rabastoul
Juliette, femme de chambre d'Angèle
Magay, nourrice anglaise
Jean, domestique

Lend Me Your Wife

Tom Bunting, a young man of property
Dick Easily, a friend of Bunting
Alexander Stirrup, Bessie's father
Benjamin Funnibone, a supervisor
Harry, the new boy
Franz, a German waiter
Capt. Abner Tarbox, a mild-mannered man
Bessie Bunting, Tom's wife
Hitty Tarbox, Captain's daughter
Lottie, the housekeeper
Baby Bunting, the Bunting heir, six months old

La Prière des Naufragés

Carlos
Barabas
Raoul de Lascours
Georges de Laval
Horace de Brionne
Medoc
Un Secrétaire d'Ambassade
Un Intendant
Premier Matelot
Deuxième Matelot
Un Officier
Louise de Lascours } (Ogarita)
La Comtesse de Théringe
Diane
Marthe

The Sea of Ice; or, A Thirst for Gold, and the Wild Flower of Mexico

Characters of the First and Second Tableaux

Raoul de Lascours (Captain of the *Urania*)
Carlos (the Adventurer)
Barabas (a Sailor)
Jean Medoc (the Carpenter)
Pierre Pascome (the Armorer)
Pasquin, Jose, Carlo, Block, Swivel } (Sailors on board the *Urania*)
Louise de Lascours (Wife of the Captain)
Marie (the Captain's Child)

Characters of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Tableaux

Marquis del Monte (a Mexican Nobleman)
Horace de Brionne (a French Gentleman)
George de Laval (a Naval Commander)
Barabas

Spanish Secretary
Francois
M. Girandin
Jermin
Ogarita (the Wild Flower of Mexico)
Countess de Theringe
Diana de Lascours
Ladies of the Corps de Ballet

Le Procès Veauradieux
Gatinet
Armand Fauvinard, avocat
Tardivaut, avocat
Henri de Bagnolles
Un Commissaire de Police
Le Secrétaire du Commissaire
Madame Laiguisier
Césarine
Angèle
Madame de Bagnolles
Fanchette
Thérèse
Sophie

Les Dominos Roses
Beaubuisson
Georges Duménil
Paul Aubier
Henri
Philippe
Germain
1er Garçon
2e Id.
Marguerite, femme de Georges
Angèle, femme de Paul
Mme Beaubuisson
Hortense, femme de chambre
Fœdora

Le Premier Coup de canif
Boudinier
Patè
Montbrison
Un Garçon de Restaurant
Un Sommelier
Un Second Garçon
Madame Boudinier
Clémentine
Plusieurs officiers

Forbidden Fruit
Mr. Sergeant Buster (senior counsel)
Mr. Cato Dove (junior counsel)
Captain Derringer
Podd
Swalbach, German Head Waiter
Victor, French Waiter
Railway Porter
Conductor
Cabman
Mrs. Cato Dove (Josephine)
Mrs. Arabella Buster
Zulu
Miss Julia Perkins—Bar Maid

Le Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre
Maxime Odiot, marquis de Champcey
M. de Bévallan
M. Laroque, octogénaire
Laubépin, notaire honoraire
Alain, vieux domestique
Le docteur Desmarets
Gaston de Lussac
Vauberger, concierge
Champlein
Yvonnet
Marguerite, fille de madame Laroque
Madame Laroque, belle-fille de M. Laroque
Mademoiselle Hélouin, institutrice

Madame Aubry, parente ruinée, recueillie dans le château
Christine
Madame Vauberger
Jeunes Filles

The Romance of a Poor Young Man
Manuel, Marquis de Champcey
Doctor Desmarets,—formerly of the French Army
M. de Bevannes—a man of the world
Gaspar Laroque—an aged man, formerly Captain of a Privateer
Alain—a confidential domestic
M. Nouret—a Notary
Yvonnet—a Breton Shepherd
Henri
Louis
Madame Laroque—Daughter-in-Law to Gaspar
Marguerite—her daughter
Mlle Helouin—a Governess
Madame Aubrey—a relative of the Laroque family
Louise Vauberger—formerly nurse to Manuel, now keeper of a lodging house
Christine—a Breton peasant girl
Guests, Servants, Peasantry, etc.

Le Savetier de Toulouse
Toussaint-Odet, savetier
Pajot, mercier
Honoré, son fils, soldat au régiment de Languedoc
Alexis Laroche, jeune médecin
Le Duc de Fronsac
Un Capitoul
Madinier, précepteur du duc
Maixent, valet de chamber
Chignard, portier du Capitoul
Adelaide, fille de Pajot
Marguerite, servant de Pajot
Un Valet du duc de Fronsac

The Shoemaker of Toulouse; or, The Avenger of Humble Life
Jacob Odet (the Shoemaker)
Pagot (a respectable Mercer)
Duke de Fronsac (Governor of Toulouse)
Madinier (the Duke's Preceptor)
Henry Pagot (a young Soldier)
Alexis Laroche (a young Physician)
Sartige (Capitoul, or Chief Magistrate)
Fleuret (the Duke's Valet)
Chignard (the Porter)
Valet
Citizen
Officer
Adelaide (daughter of Pagot)
Margaret

Le Sergent Frédéric
Frédéric-Guillaume I^{er}, roi de Prussia
Charles Frédéric, son fils aîné
La Reine Sophie
Élizabeth de Brunswick, princesse d'Autriche
Le Général Sturner
Louise, sa femme
Le Comte de Sœchendorf
Le Comte Gustave de Keitt, lieutenant
Le Baron de Koppen-Nicken, chambellan
Jean Fisch, meunier
Christine, sa femme
Stolbach, ancien soldat
Fanferlich, garçon meunier

The Love of a Prince; or, The Court of Prussia

King Frederick William (of Prussia)
Prince Charles Frederick (his son)
Baron Koppen Nicken (King's Chamberlain)
Count Saxendorf (of Austria)
Gen. Sturner (of Frederick's Army)
Count Gustave (a Lieutenant of King's Guard)
Stolbach (an old soldier)
Gen. Baumer
Col. Brunner
Jean (a miller)
Fritz (miller's boy)
Officer of Guard
Soldiers, Officers, Guards, Courtiers, Peasants, etc.
Queen Sophia
Elizabeth (Princess of Brunswick)
Louise (wife of Gen. Sturner)
Christine (miller's wife)
Pages, Ladies of Honor, Peasants, etc.

Les Six Degrés du Crime

Jules Dormilly
François
Charles, Ferdinand } amis de Jules
Michael, surnommé l'Homme Noir
Lacaille, Robert } voleurs
Madame Doucet, marchande d'oranges
Louise, sa fille
Elomire, Fanny, Caroline } personnes invitées au bal
Monsieur de la chambre
Un Commissaire de Police
Berthier, Joseph } domestiques
Peuple, Gardes et Domestiques

The Six Degrees of Crime; or, Wine, Women, Gambling, Theft, Murder, and the Scaffold

Julio Dormilly
Charles, Ferdinand, Robert, Lacaille } His associates
Michael, the Blk Parson
Francois
Commissary of Police
Master of Ceremonies
Joseph
Banker
Eugene Herbert
1st Gambler
2nd Gambler
Gen d'Arme
Mad. Doucet
Louise, her daughter
Elomire
Julia
Amanda
Sophia
Caroline
Fanny
Lizette
Amelia

La Tentation

Gontran, comte de Vardes
Achille de Kérouare
Georges Gordon Trévélyan
Le Marquis de Seillanes
Dumesnil
Cowperson
Durel, concierge

Ravelet, piqueur
Camille, comtesse de Vardes
Hélène, sa fille
Madame Dumesnil
La Comtesse, douairière de Vardes
Madame de Saulieu, mère de Camille
Un Piqueur
Invités

Led Astray

Rodolph Chandoce
Hector Placide
Mount Gosline
George de Lesparre
Major O'Hara
Lafontaine
Robert
Huntsman
Armande Chandoce
Mathilde
Suzanne O'Hara
The Countess (Mother of Rodolph)
Sophie
Baroness (Mother of Armande)

Le Vampire

Ituriel, ange de la Lune
Oscar, génie des Marriages
Un Vampire

Lord Ruthwen
Sir Aubray
Malvina
Brigitte
Edgar
Scop
Petterson
Lovette
Oscar
Domestiques
Villageois

The Phantom

The Phantom
Lord Albert Clavering
Sir Hugh Neville, of Graystock
Sir Guy Musgrave
Ralph Gwynne
Davy
Lucy Peveryl
Ellen
Maude
Janet

Alan Raby
Colonel Raby
Edgar (his nephew)
Dr. Reese
Curate
Corporal Stump
Ada Raby
Jenny

La Vie d'une Comédienne

Le Comte Karl de Rudentz
Le Marquis Emile de Rudentz, son cousin
Georges, médecin
St-Phar, crispin de la Comédie-Française
Lindor, danseur
De Brionne
De Flassan
Le Comte Boriloff
Celicourt, acteur de la Comédie-Française
Firmin, valet
Bernard, propriétaire
Michel, inspecteur de la prison
Un Intendant
Un Régisseur
Un Geolier
Un Agent
Joseph, valet

Olympe, actrice de la Comédie-Française, plus tard comtesse de Rudentz
Rose Michon, sa sœur
Clara, femme de chambre d'Olympe
La Comtesse Douairière de Rudentz, mère de Karl
Louise, ouvrière cordonnière
Esther, danseuse
Nanine, danseuse
Denise
Seigneurs, Dames, Gardes, Peuples, etc.

Grimaldi; or, The Life of an Actress
The Duke of D—
Grimaldi
Lord Shafton
Maltravers
Selwyn Dawdle
Wopshot
Leech
Hopkins
Waiter
Corporal and Soldiers
Violet
Julia
The Countess of Beaumaris
Mrs. Highly Propper
Miss Stingwell
Lady Belle Lettres
Mrs. Hopkins
Ladies in the Ballet
Visitors to the Duke

APPENDIX B

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The place and date of first production are given in parentheses.

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Angelo by Victor Hugo. In *Oeuvres* par Victor Hugo, Francfort-sur-le Mein, n.d. (Théâtre-Français, Paris, April 28, 1835.) See Smith's *The Actress of Padua.*

L'aveugle et son bâton, vaudeville en un acte by Varin and Laurencin [P. F. Chapelle]. Paris, n.d. (Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris, November 11, 1841.) See *Blind Man's Bluff.*

La Bergère des Alpes, drame en cinq actes by Ch. Desnoyer and Ad. Dennery. Paris, n.e., n.d. (Théâtre de la Gaîté, Paris, October 31, 1852.) See Boucicault's *Pauvrette.*

Bertrand et Raton, drame en cinq actes by Eugène Scribe. New York, n.e., 1884. (Théâtre-Français, Paris, November 14, 1833.) See *The School for Politicians; or Non-Committal.*

Charlotte Corday, drame en trois actes by Dumanoir and Clairville. Paris, 1847. (Théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, Paris, July 14, 1847.) See Conner's *Charlotte Corday.*

La Chatte métamorphosée en femme, folie-vaudeville en un acte by Eugène Scribe. In *Théâtre* de M. Eugène Scribe, Paris, 1843. (Théâtre du Gymnase dramatique, Paris, March 3, 1827.) See Boucicault's *The Cat Changed into a Woman.*

Clara, ou le Malheur et la Conscience, mélodrame en trois actes by M. Hubert [Philippe Jacques de Laroche]. Paris, 1813. (Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, Paris, June 15, 1808.) See Smith's *The Daughter.*

Le Coq de village, tableau-vaudeville en un acte by Decour, Charles Hubert, and Théodore Anne. Paris, 1822. (Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris. June 12, 1822.) See Smith's *The Last Man; or The Cock of the Village.*

Le Crétin de la Montagne, drame en cinq actes by Eugène Grangé [E. P. Basté] and Lambert-Thiboust. Paris, 1861. (Théâtre de la Gaîté, Paris, June 3, 1861.) See Boucicault's *The Amadan.*

Les Crochets du Père Martin, drame en trois actes by E. Cormon [P. E. Piestre] and E. Grangé [E. P. Basté]. Paris, n.e., n.d. (Théâtre de la Gaîté, Paris, August 3, 1858.) See Boucicault's *The O'Dowd.*

La Czarine, drame en cinq actes by Eugène Scribe. In *Oeuvres complètes* de Eugène Scribe, Paris, 1875. (Théâtre-Français, Paris, January 15, 1855.) See Leland's *Czarina.*

La Dame aux Camélias, drame en cinq actes by Alexandre Dumas, *fils*. New York, n.e., 1924. (Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris, February 2, 1852.) See Heron's *Camille;* and *Camille; or The Fate of a Coquette.*

Le Demi-Monde, comédie en cinq actes by Alexandre Dumas, *fils*. In *Théâtre complet* de Dumas, Paris, n.e., n.d. (Théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, Paris, March 20, 1855.) See Leland's *Beatrice; or The False and the True;* Squier's *The "Demi-Monde."*

Les Dominos Roses, comédie en trois actes by Alfred Delacour and Alfred Hennequin. Paris, 1879. (Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris, April 17, 1876.) See Boucicault's *Forbidden Fruit.*

Les Droits de l'Homme, comédie en deux actes by Jules de Prémary [Regnault]. Paris, n.e., 1879. (Théâtre de l'Odéon, Paris, November 6, 1851.) See Leland's *The Rights of Man.*

L'Enfant Prodigue, opéra en cinq actes by Eugène Scribe. In *Oeuvres complètes* de Eugène Scribe, Paris, 1876. (Théâtre de l'Opéra, Paris, December 6, 1850.) See Boucicault's *Azael; or the Prodigal.*

La Fiammina, comédie en quatre actes by Mario Uchard. Paris, n.e., 1891 (Théâtre-Français, Paris, March 12, 1857.) See Clapp's La *Fiammina;* Heron's *La Fiammina.*

Les Filles de Marbre, drame en cinq actes by Théodore Barrière and Lambert Thiboust, Paris, 1853. (Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris, May 17, 1853.) See Boucicault's *Rafael.*

Le Fils de la Nuit, drame en trois actes by Victor Séjour. Paris, 1856. (Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, Paris, July 11, 1856.) See Gayler's *The Son of the Night.*

Le Fils naturel, comédie en cinq actes by Alexandre Dumas, *fils.* In *Théâtre complet* de Al. Dumas, *fils,* Paris, 1868. (Théâtre du Gymnase Dramatique Paris, January 16, 1858.) See Boucicault's *Man of Honor.*

Le Gamin de Paris, comédie-vaudeville en deux actes by Bayard and E. Vanderburch. Paris, 1836. (Théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, Paris, January 30, 1836.) See Boucicault's *Andy Blake; or The Irish Diamond.*

Gaspardo le Pêcheur, drame en quatre actes, précédé d'un prologue by J. Bouchardy. Paris, 1837. (Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, Paris, January 14, 1837.) See Butler's *Gaspardo the Gondolier.*

Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle, comédie en cinq actes by Alexandre Dumas, *père.* In *Théâtre complet* de Dumas, Paris, n.d. (Théâtre-Français, Paris, April 2, 1839.) See Kemble's *The Duke's Wager;* Field's *Gabrielle; or a Night's Hazards.*

Marie-Jeanne, drame en cinq actes by Dennery and Mallian. In *Magazin théâtral.* (Théâtre Porte-Saint-Martin, Paris, November 11, 1845.) See Boucicault's *Janet Pride.*

Médée, tragédie en trois actes by Ernest Legouvé. Paris, 1854. See Heron's *Medea.*

Monsieur Jovial, ou l'huissier chansonnier, comédie-vaudeville en deux actes by Théaulon [M. E. G. M. Théaulon de Lambert] and Choquart. Paris, 1828. (Théâtre des Nouveautes, Paris, May 5, 1827.) See Boucicault's *Wanted—a Widow, with Immediate Possession.*

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Le Premier Coup de canif, comédie-vaudeville en deux actes, by Anicet-Bourgeois and Édouard Brisbarre. Paris, 1852. (Théâtre du Gymnase-Dramatique, Paris, August 14, 1848.) See Boucicault's *Forbidden Fruit.*

Prête-moi ta femme! comédie en deux actes, by Maurice Desvallières. Paris, n.d. (Théâtre du Palais-Royal, Paris, September 10, 1883.) See Boucicault's *Lend Me Your Wife.*

La Prière des Naufragés, drame en cinq actes by Dennery and Ferdinand Dugué. Paris, n.e., n.d. (Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, Paris, October 20, 1853.) See *The Sea of Ice; or A Thirst for Gold, and The Wild Flower of Mexico.*

Le Procès Veauradieux, comédie en trois actes by Alfred Delacour and Alfred Hennequin. Paris, n.d. (Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris, June 19, 1875.) See Boucicault's *Forbidden Fruit.*

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Le Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre, comédie en cinq actes by Octave Feuillet. Paris, 1859. (Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris, November 22, 1858.) See Edward's and Wallack's *The Romance of a Poor Young Man.*

Le Savetier de Toulouse, drame en quatre actes by Merville [B. F. Camus] and Francis [Francis Cornu]. Paris, 1832. (Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, Paris, October 20, 1832.) See Hill's *The Shoemaker of Toulouse; or The Avenger of Humble Life.*

Le Sergent Frédéric, comédie-vaudeville en cinq actes by Vanderburch and Dumanoir. Paris, 1855. (Théâtre de la Gaîté, Paris, June 21, 1855.) See Gayler's *The Love of a Prince; or The Court of Prussia.*

Les Six Degrés du Crime, mélodrame en trois actes by Theodore N * * * [Nezel] and Benjamin [Antier]. Paris, 1832. (Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, Paris, November 30, 1831.) See Hill's *The Six Degrees of Crime; or Wine, Women, Gambling, Theft, Murder, and the Scaffold.*

La Tentation, pièce en cinq actes by Octave Feuillet. Paris, 1860. (Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris, March 19, 1860.) See Boucicault's *Led Astray.*

Le Testament de César Girodot, comédie en trois actes by Adolphe Belot and Edmond Villetard. Paris, 1859. (Théâtre de l'Odéon, Paris, September 30, 1859.) See Walcot's *The Cup and the Lip.*

Le Truc d'Arthur, comédie en trois actes by Alfred Duru and Henri Chivot. Paris, n.e., 1926. (Théâtre du Palais-Royal, Paris, October 14, 1882.) See Boucicault's *Vice Versa.*

Le Vampire, mélodrame en trois actes avec un prologue by Carmouche, de Jouffroy [d'Abbans] and Ch. Nodier. Paris, 1820. (Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, Paris, June 13, 1820.) See Boucicault's *The Phantom.*

La Vie d'une Comédienne, drame en cinq actes by Anicet-Bourgeois and Théodore Barrière. Paris, n.d. (Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, Paris, March 22, 1854.) See Boucicault's *Grimaldi; or The Life of an Actress.*

La Vie de Bohème, comédie en cinq actes by Théodore Barrière and H. Murger. Paris, n.e., 1897. (Théâtre des Variétés, Paris, November 22, 1849.) See Boucicault's *Mimi.*

Adaptations of French Plays

The place and date of first production are given in parentheses.

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Anonymous Plays:

Camille; or, The Fate of a Coquette. In *The New York Drama*, Vol. II, No. 24. (Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, September 23, 1853.)

The Sea of Ice; or, A Thirst for Gold, and The Wild Flower of Mexico. New York and London, n.d. (Chatham Street Theatre, New York, April 17, 1854.)

Boucicault, Dion:

The Amadan. (Extant but not available.) (Boston Museum, Boston, February 5, 1883.)

Andy Blake; or, The Irish Diamond. New York, 1856. (Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, April 12, 1854.)

Forbidden Fruit. New York, 1876. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, October 3, 1876.)

Grimaldi; or, The Life of an Actress. New York, 1856. (National Theatre, Cincinnati, September 24, 1855.)

Led Astray. New York and London, 1873. (Union Square Theatre, New York, December 8, 1873.)

Lend Me Your Wife. Typewritten MS. in Library of Congress. (Boston Museum, August 25, 1890.)

The O'Dowd. London and New York, [1909]. (Booth's Theatre, New York, March 17, 1873.)

Pauvrette. New York and London, [1858]. (Niblo's Garden, New York, October 4, 1858.)

The Phantom. New York and London, [1856]. (National Theatre, Philadelphia, May 12, 1856.)

The Poor of New York. New York, [1857]. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, December 7, 1857.)

The Pope of Rome. New York, [1858]. (Niblo's Garden, New York, October 27, 1858.)

Wanted—A Widow, with Immediate Possession. New York and London, [1857]. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, November 9, 1857.)

Clapp, William, Jr.:

La Fiammina. Boston, [1857]. (Boston Museum, Boston, 1857.)

Edwards, Pierrepont, and Wallack, Lester:

The Romance of a Poor Young Man. New York and London, [1859]. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, January 24, 1860.)

Gayler, Charles:

The Love of a Prince; or, The Court of Prussia. New York, [1857]. (Laura Keene's Theatre, New York, April 13, 1857.)

The Son of the Night. New York, [1857]. (Broadway Theatre, New York, April 27, 1857.)

Heron, Matilda:

Camille. Cincinnati, 1858. (Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, October 3, 1855.)

Medea. Cincinnati, 1858. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, February 16, 1857.)

Hill, Frederic S.:

The Shoemaker of Toulouse; or, The Avenger of Humble Life. Boston, n.d. (Warren Theatre, Boston, 1834.)

The Six Degrees of Crime; or, Wine, Women, Gambling, Theft, Murder and the Scaffold. Boston, 1855. (Warren Theatre, Boston, January 15, 1834.)

Kemble (Mrs. Butler), Frances:

The Duke's Wager. In *Plays.* London, 1863. (Astor Place Opera House, New York, April 29, 1850.)

Leland, Oliver S.:

Beatrice; or, The False and the True. New York and London, n.d. (Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia, December 16, 1857.)

The Rights of Man. New York, n.d. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, May 23, 1857.)

NON-EXTANT

Anonymous Play:

Blind Man's Bluff. (Olympic Theatre, New York, December 4, 1843.)

Barnes (Mrs. Conner), Charlotte M. S.:

Charlotte Corday. (Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia, April 18, 1851.)

Boucicault, Dion:

Azael; or, The Prodigal. (Gaiety Theatre, New Orleans, January 19, 1856.

The Cat Changed Into a Woman. (St. Louis Theatre, St. Louis, November 12 1855.)

Chamooni III. (Winter Garden, New York, October 19, 1859.)

Contempt of Court. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, October 4, 1879.)

Janet Pride. (Metropolitan Theatre, Buffalo, August 11, 1854.)
A Man of Honor. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, December 22, 1873.)
Mimi. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, July 1, 1873.)
Rafael. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, April 10, 1875.)
Spell-bound. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, February 24, 1879.)
Vice Versa. (Springfield, Massachusetts, March 21, 1883.)

Butler, J.:

Gaspardo, the Gondolier. (Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, March 23, 1839.)

Field, J. M.:

Gabrielle; or, A Night's Hazards. (Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, September 16, 1843.)

Heron, Matilda:

La Fiammina. (Wallack's Theatre, New York, September 7, 1857.)

Leland, O. S.:

Czarina. (Burton's Theatre, New York, April 6, 1859.)

Smith, Richard Penn:

The Actress of Padua. (Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, June 13, 1836.)

NOT PERFORMED

Anonymous Play:

The School for Politicians; or, Non-Committal. New York, 1840.

Smith, Richard Penn:

The Daughter. In *The Actress of Padua and Other Tales.* Philadelphia [?], 1836.

The Last Man; or, The Cock of the Village. MS. in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Squier, Mrs. E. G.:

The "Demi-Monde"; A Satire on Society. Philadelphia, 1858.

Walcot, Maria Grace:

The Cup and the Lip. New York, [1859].

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